Order Number 9334676

H.D., archaeology, and modernism

Witte, Sarah Ellen, Ph.D.

The University of Iowa, 1993

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

H.D., ARCHAEOLOGY, AND MODERNISM

by

Sarah Ellen Witte

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in English
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 1993

Thesis supervisor: Professor Adalaide Morris

Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D thesis of

Sarah Ellen Witte

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in English at the May 1993 graduation

Thesis committee: Adalaide Morris
Thesis Supervisor

Kathleen E. Diffley
Member

Paul B. Diehl
Member

Ed Folsom
Member

Eric B. Mitchell
Member

To J.L. Nelson
Thank you for your love and friendship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS		v
INTRODUCTION		1
CHAPTER		
ONE	NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY: PERCEPTIONS OF THE PAST IN EXHIBITIONS, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND MUSEUMS	6
	Exhibitions and Representational Art	14
	Historiography	38
	Museums	52
TWO	ARCHAEOLOGY AND MODERNISM: RECONSTRUCTION AND REPERCEPTION	69
	Classicism	80
	Imagism	94
	H.D.'s Journey Beyond Imagism	108
THREE	H.D.'S RECENSION OF THE EGYPTIAN BOOK OF THE DEAD IN PALIMPSEST	120
	Popular and Intellectual Contexts	122
	H.D.'s Egyptian Sources	131
	H.D.'s Palimpsestic Recensions	134
	"Hipparchia: War Rome"	144
	"Murex: War and Post-War London"	155
	"Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt"	163
FOUR	THE HISTORICAL DISPERSION OF THE SEARCH FOR THE ETERNAL LOVER: EGYPT AND CRETE	182
	"Hesperia"	186
	"Pilate's Wife"	202

FIVE HELEN IN EGYPT: THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN MYTH AND HISTORY. 238

REFERENCES. 266

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This list of primary sources is based on the "List of Standard Works Cited" published in the first volume and issue of the H.D. Newsletter. Since this list contains abbreviations only of H.D.'s published works, I have added abbreviations for some of H.D.'s unpublished works used in my study.

BMTL	Bid Me To Live: A Madrigal. New York: The Dial Press, 1960.
CP	H.D.: Collected Poems 1912-1944. Ed. Louis L. Martz, Manchester: Carcanet, 1984/New York: New Directions, 1983.
ET	End to Torment: A Memoir of Ezra Pound. New York: New Directions, 1979.
G	The Gift. New York: New Directions, 1982. Abridged.
HDDA	H.D. by Delia Alton. Iowa Review 16.3 (Fall 1986): 444-74.
"H"	"Hesperia." From H.D.'s unpublished works at the Bienecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
N	Nights. New York: New Directions, 1986.
NEPG	"Notes on Euripides, Pausanias, and the Greek Lyric Poets." From H.D.'s unpublished works at the Bienecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
NTV	Notes on Thought and Vision & the Wise Sappho. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1982.
P	Palimpsest. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.
PW	"Pilate's Wife." From H.D.'s unpublished works at the Bienecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
TF	Tribute to Freud. New York: New Directions, 1985.

INTRODUCTION

My interest in H.D.'s use of Egyptian myth to structure her texts began in 1983 in Professor Adalaide Morris' seminar "H.D. and her Circle." The seminar provided an historical context for reading H.D. by situating her texts within the concerns of Imagism and among writers I was more familiar with: Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, and William Carlos Williams. At the time I was becoming more acquainted with H.D.'s work, I was also becoming familiar with the scholarship of feminist critics like Susan Stanford Friedman, Rachel Blau Duplessis, and Susan Gubar, whose approaches to H.D. are premised on her recovery of matriarchal mythologies that authorize her as a woman artist writing within and against patriarchal constructions of myth and history.

When I returned to my earlier thinking on H.D. in December 1986, the New Historicists were being showcased at the MLA. In many respects, my study is a New Historicist construction around the feminist approaches of Friedman, Duplessis, and Gubar. Stephen Greenblatt's and Louis Montrose's idea of examining texts in relation to a variety of cultural contexts allowed me to reconsider H.D.'s use of mythology from a variety of historical contexts. My study thus provides an historicized context within which H.D.'s

recovery of matriarchal mythologies may be reperceived as an artistic impulse concurrent with intellectual and cultural reassessments of matriarchal mythologies and histories during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

My New Historicist views have been shaped by a number of essays collected in Aram Veeser's The New Historicism, including Veeser's introduction, Stephen Greenblatt's "Towards a Poetics of Culture," Louis Montrose's "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture," Stephen Bann's "The Sense of the Past: Image, Text, and Object in the Formation of Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Britain," Hayden White's "New Historicism: A Comment," and Stanley Fish's "Commentary: The Young and the Restless." Historical critic Hayden White and literary critic Stanley Fish both have important reservations about the ideologies that inform New Historicism. For White, New Historicists like Montrose commit the 'referential fallacy" of text and context, offending practitioners of other ideological positions in the process (294-95). Fish's reservations impunge New Historicists for 'confusing ideological positions towards history with the practice of history" (308). He claims that 'the newness of New Historicism is not methodological but a new practice of history, a new evaluation of the evidence and significance of historical events" (312). One can claim

"intertextuality," and other key terms like "exchange," "negotiation," and "circulation" between text and context, but one cannot finally do it (313).

Bearing these reservations in mind, I do not claim to be 'doing" intertextuality so much as reevaluating H.D.'s texts in light of the impact of archaeology on her reperceptions of myth and history. In New Historicist fashion, Chapter One begins with a newspaper account of the opening of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1923, providing the opening for my reconstruction of H.D.'s journey to Egypt to see the opening of the tomb. In this chapter I attempt to show how her reperceptions of history and myth in 1923 were shaped by the much earlier impact of nineteenth-century archaeology on cultural understandings of the past. Where I can, I try to indicate those books H.D. owned, read, and referred to that intersect with revised histories and mythologies produced in the wake of nineteenth-century archaeological excavation, but my primary interest is to reconstruct popular, intellectual, and museum contexts in which the meaning os excavated objects and the terms "myth" and "history" were being renegotiated among the emergent sciences of archaeology, comparative mythology, and historiography.

In Chapter Two, I situate my discussion of archaeology within the overlapping contexts of museums and modernism.

In this chapter I argue that museums presented modern culture with a view of the past that was fragmented. The museum, as such, becomes a site for the emergence of Classicism and Imagism, which I view as similarly invested in reperceiving and reconstructing the mythic "soul" of the past fragmented by nineteenth-century archaeologists and historians. I conclude this chapter with H.D.'s consideration that poets are better equipped than academicians to reperceive and reconstruct the soul of the past, for poets like H.D. have the ability to 'intuit" and "revive" the mythic dimension of life that has passed away.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five demonstrate how H.D.'s Palimpsest, "Hesperia," Pilate's Wife, and Helen in Egypt exemplify a variety of writing processes by which H.D. seeks to reconstitute mythic ties to history. In these chapters, I argue that when H.D. superimposes, interpolates, or transposes historical figures and events onto/into mythical types and structures, she is trying to help us reperceive the social constructions of personal and cultural history. She views history as imbricated in myth (a view close to Hayden White's), and psychological processes as a way of accessing, interpreting, and reconstructing from the mythic patterns of the Freudian unconscious better histories of our personal and collective pasts. From academic histories, she seems to suggest, we gain knowledge; but from her synthesis

of myth and history, we may gain wisdom, which is knowledge infused with the soul of myth.

CHAPTER ONE

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGY: PERCEPTIONS OF THE PAST IN EXHIBITIONS, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND MUSEUMS

> She might so very easily, with
> so slight a mental faux-pas,
> through curiosity . . .
> forego, past remedy, her right
> of entry to this just-found
> Egypt.
>
> H.D., Palimpsest

The headline of a news item from Luxor, Egypt dated January 22, 1923 reads "Crowds Flock to Egypt: Tourists and Archaeologists Stream in to See Tutankhamen's Tomb." The article attributes the boom in tourism to Howard Carter's recent discovery of King Tutankhamen's unplundered tomb in the Valley of Kings. The international media attention surrounding this archaeological moment attracted tourists who filled hotels in the Luxor area "nearly to capacity" and who "converted the desolate ravine [in the Valley of Kings] into a veritable mecca for tourists, historians and archaeological students." All were awaiting the arrival of Lord Carnarvon, financier of the Tutankhamen excavation, who was expected the following week for the unsealing of the burial chamber (The New York Times 22 Jan. 1923: 14.2).

Among those tourists "flocking" to Luxor, Egypt were the American poet H.D., her mother, Helen Wolle Doolittle,

and her lifelong companion Bryher. On Monday January 22, 1923, they boarded the S. S. Adriatic in Naples, Italy bound for Alexandria, Egypt. The relative calm of their two and one-half day sea voyage was no doubt disrupted by the rigamarole of checking baggage through the customhouse at Alexandria, but Bryher probably secured the services of a porter who--at least according to Baedeker--relieved the tourist of the trouble of inspection, assisted in clearing luggage at the customhouse, and conducted the traveller either to hotels or to the Gare du Caire (Baedeker 9). H.D., her mother, and Bryher apparently opted to take a train directly from Alexandria to Cairo. Buffets were probably set up on railway platforms at the larger towns along the Rosetta-arm of the Nile so that travellers could purchase wine, mineral waters, fruit, and cold meats to eat and drink on the train (Baedeker 33). Bryher writes that during the three-hour train ride to Cairo, they lunched and observed "camels, mud huts, palms" and "natives" dotting the late afternoon landscape of the Nile delta.[1]

In the cool of early evening they arrived in Cairo and booked rooms at the luxurious Shepheard's Hotel near Opera Square, where Verdi's Aida had premiered in 1871.[2] From the terrace of this Pharaonic-style hotel, H.D. probably spent the evening enjoying what her daughter Perdita would have called "a greedy tea" as she gazed out over the

canopied entrance onto the crowded street below (N xv). The following morning, armed with her new Baedeker on Egypt and the Sudan, H.D., her mother, and Bryher began their six-day sojourn in Cairo by visiting the Pyramids of Giza, explored by Giovanni Belzoni in 1818 and memorialized by Byron in his satiric stanza on Cheops in Don Juan (I.219) (Smyers 18; Silverstein 10). After touring the pyramidal tombs of Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinus, they lunched in the Mogul Room at the Mena House Hotel, situated near the base of the pyramids (Silverstein 10). In this Indian restaurant they would have been surrounded by nineteenth-century Mogul architecture: arabesque design, arches, domes, latticework windows, gold, and mirrors (McGrath 66).

During the remaining five days spent in Cairo, Bryher writes that they visited the Egyptian Museum, the Mosque of Ibn Tulun (the oldest mosque in Cairo), the Alabastar Mosque (Mosque of Muhammad Ali), the Mosque of Sultan Hassan, the Citadel (near the City of the Dead), and the coptic churches (St. Sergius, where the Holy Family sought refuge during their flight to Egypt; and St. Barbara). On January 29th, they visited the Cairo Zoo, which would then have been considered the best in the world. Before leaving Cairo, they of course shopped at the open shops which flanked the narrow, winding bricked streets and alleys of the Khan el Khalili, the bazaar quarter where everything from

antiquities to tapestries were on display and for sale (Silverstein 10; Baedeker 40-41, 50, 54; McGrath 102-31).[3]

Neither H.D.'s Autobiographical Notes nor Pearson's Notes tell whether their all-night journey from Cairo to Luxor on January 31-February 1 was by train or by steamer. H.D. merely notes, "Luxor Hotel, Luxor, 9 days."[4] Bryher, on the other hand, records that the trip from Cairo to Luxor took thirteen and one-half hours (7:30 p.m.-9:00 a.m.). Since Bryher would have had to book passage on a Nile steamer at Alexandria, and did not, very likely they travelled to Luxor by a train dubbed the "Tutankhamen Special" by the Egyptian State Railway (Brackman 95). If so, the train was probably crowded with tourists hoping to get a glimpse of the priceless artifacts being removed from Tutankhamen's tomb, and H.D., her mother, and Bryher would have spent a sleepless night on their journey into the heart of Egypt.

On their arrival in Luxor, they "first went to the Winter Palace Hotel which they found to be crowded and noisy; then they moved to the Luxor Hotel; slept in the afternoon, then walked and saw Karnak by moonlight" (Silverstein 10). The Winter Palace, with its "white double circle of stairs and raised roof-garden like piazza," is the scene of the third novella of H.D.'s Palimpsest (1926) and

is described by her character Rafton as "vulgar. It's only the millionaires who go there . . . except for a few excavators who get cheap rates" (267, 257).[5] The Luxor Hotel, to which they moved, was clean but apparently less luxurious (Baedeker 251). It had a large garden with interesting monuments and was situated across the street from the Luxor Temple. In the opening scene of Palimpsest, which takes place in the Luxor Hotel garden, H.D.'s Margaret Fairwood notes the "heavy drapery of the purple bougainvillea" which backgrounds the two basalt Sekhmet statues flanking the hotel entrance (264-65). In a concluding scene, H.D. indicates her awareness that the Luxor Hotel is itself a palimpsestic monument constructed by the conquering aesthetic tastes of ancient Persia for the conquering hordes of modern-day tourists: "Modernity, machine and squared-in turrets of that Manhattan sea fortress, that blocked-in Babylon that faced, block and stone piled high like the ancient square and bulwark of Babylon, of Assyria, an asiatic front, a bulwark to the inwash of terrific ocean breakers" (337).

On February 2, H.D. visited Tutankhamen's tomb with her mother and Bryher. According to Pearson's Notes, H.D., Bryher, and Helen Wolle Doolittle

> sailed in a boat across the Nile to the West Bank then drove in a sand cart to the tombs in the Valley of the Kings; they viewed the new entrance to Tutankhamen's tomb; they then visited the tomb of Amenhotep II with

> its mummy and wall paintings; then they returned to the new tomb (Tutankhamen's) where they watched a guarded stretcher bearing a small chariot wheel being carried out by natives; later they saw another stretcher brought out bearing horns and small objects; they then took the easier path over the hill to the Cook's Rest House for lunch; later they visited the Temple at Deir al Bahri [sic]; joined an expedition to Punt [?] and H[---?],[6] drove back by the colossi of Memnon, and sailed back across the Nile to Luxor; they saw Karnak by moonlight and climbed up the pylon. (Silverstein 10)

These details from Bryher's journal, flat and colorless here, are brought to life in H.D.'s Palimpsest (1926) and by a culture eager to exploit what the London Times had touted as "the most sensational find of the century" (London Times 30 Nov. 1922: 13f). Part of the tension in Palimpsest, in fact, results from the cultural and popular perceptions of archaeology she herself witnessed and the personal and imaginative reperceptions she constructed. On the one hand, the scattering of King Tutankhamen's sacred artifacts must be read against their cultural popularity; on the other hand, her regathering of those same artifacts in Palimpsest must be read against her imaginative reperception of a mythological framework which could reanimate the past in the present. It is necessary, therefore, to locate her voice emerging from the noisy crowd and to understand the broader significance of her writings in relationship to the archaeological recuperation of the past. For H.D. was no ordinary tourist standing in the "desolate ravine" of the Valley of Kings on February 2, 1923. Her culture,

education, and temperamental affinities had prepared her for her "right of entry to this just-found Egypt" (P 251).

H.D.'s perceptions of the past were shaped in part by archaeology's impact on three overlapping spheres of nineteenth-century culture: popular exhibitions, historiography, and museums. Within these cultural spheres, the perception of the past shifted from a largely intact body of mythological stories to a more fragmented historical view of its material remains. In this chapter, I argue that nineteenth-century perceptions of the material past were representational and historical. Artifacts rather than myths became the basis for reconstructing the historical past into some coherent whole. I view nineteenth-century popular and intellectual perceptions of the past as crucial to later chapters which explore the modernist reperception of ancient mythology and history in the writings of H.D., Pound, Eliot, Joyce, Lawrence, and Williams. The archaeological dispersal of Egyptian artifacts and other middle-Eastern bits of material culture can be seen as a force underlying the modernist break from nineteenth-century representational art to an intuitive reperception of the material past (see Chp. 2).

Archaeology becomes an important matrix for tracing the origins of H.D.'s interest in Egypt, Babylon, Troy, and Crete and for reading her modernist reperception of these

ancient civilizations. To this end, it is helpful to turn the clock back to the early cultural and textual influences which fostered H.D.'s interest in ancient middle-Eastern civilizations. H.D. owned, read, and referred to a number of texts that structure my study of nineteenth-century perceptions of the past. Gustav Dore's Bible illustrations, Amelia Edward's A Thousand Miles Up the Nile, Pausanias' Description of Greece, Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales, and the classical writers she translated as a schoolgirl at Friends' Central and Bryn Mawr form the foundation for her perception of the past. Budge's translations of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Evans' excavations in Crete form another layer of perceptions. Museums, as I argue at the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next, become sites where H.D. reperceives material artifacts and transmutes them into art, restructuring language and perception to make the ancient live again.

Modernist reperceptions of a fragmented past, poignantly headlined in Ezra Pound's 1911-12 essay series "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris," gain vitality once grounded in Napoleon's military claims to Egypt, the violation of sacred space in his plunder of Egyptian burial grounds, and the consequent scattering effects of archaeological excavations throughout the century (New Age 10: 107 ff.). It is thus important here to reinscribe the nineteenth-century

archaeological pattern of excavating and scattering, dismantling and reconstructing, and deciphering and translating, for these patterns of middle-Eastern dispersal to the West date from Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1799-1801) when Egypt became a contested archaeological terrain between France and Britain--an historical re-enactment of Set's scattering the limbs of Osiris writ large by Western culture.

Exhibitions and Representational Art

Born into a nineteenth-century culture obsessed with discovering the beginnings of civilization, H.D. was attuned to the tension and exchange between antiquarian, popular, and archaeological conceptions of ancient history. Such awareness is clearly registered in H.D.'s autobiographical The Gift where she recalls a schoolroom history lesson during the early 1890's. "There was Miss Helen," she writes; there was a "brown paper map of Africa" on which Miss Helen pasted animals and trees the children had clipped from magazines; and there were "the Egyptians who lived along the river. They built little houses to live in when they were dead. In these underground houses they piled up furniture, chairs, tables, boxes, jars, food even" (G 5). Yet this childhood image of Egypt, held together by paper and paste, constituted more than a history lesson: it was a modernist cultural collage. From fragments cut from popular

magazine advertisements, Miss Helen filtered her young students' perceptions of Egypt through conventional images of its past. Her technique of gathering together images of Egypt with paper and paste would have afforded H.D. an early lesson in modernist techniques of re-membering ancient wholes from parts. Hers would be a re-membering, moreover, made possible only at the end of a century during which antiquarian conceptions of Egypt had been repeatedly overturned by the spades of archaeologists and Egypt's artifacts had been dispersed from their original sites by enterprising purveyors of the past.

A century before H.D.'s history lesson on Egypt, Napoleon was similarly engaged in learning about Egypt. Her history lesson, in fact, was made possible by Napoleon's fin de siecle campaign in Egypt which inaugurated a heyday in nineteenth-century archaeological studies. With commissioned scholars and an army, he set out to understand Egypt as he conquered it. His irreverent sweep through the tombs of Egypt put him at the vanguard of archaeological excavation and prepared for the Western invasion of ancient middle-Eastern civilizations. The political edge Napoleon gave archaeology would persist throughout the century as middle-Eastern sites of ancient defeat--Egypt, Babylon, Troy, and Crete--were sacked anew. As an elementary schoolchild, H.D. might not have registered Napoleon's

disenfranchisement of Egypt, but her history lesson was nonetheless learned from the "indelible ink of the palimpsest/ of past misadventure" which, years later, her Palimpsest, "Hesperia," Pilate's Wife, and Helen in Egypt would attempt to "scratch out" (T 6).

H.D.'s use of the palimpsest metaphor to describe her reinscription of ancient civilizations paradoxically involves probing the very layers of "past misadventure" in archaeology which made her reinscription possible. Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was the first such misadventure to pave the way for other misadventures involving Egypt's appropriation by Western popular and intellectual perceptions of its ancient history. When she arrived in London in 1911, H.D. could hardly miss the Egyptianized architectural facades made popular after the publication of Dominique Vivant Denon's archaeologically correct illustrations of tombs, temples, and hieroglyphic inscriptions recorded during the Napoleonic campaign (1809-13) (Fagan 65-76; Curl 110; Altick, Shows 101-02). And during her visits to the British Museum in 1912, she likely noticed the parallelism of hieroglyphics, demotic script, and Coptic Greek inscribed on a fragment of basalt stone found by one of Napoleon's soldiers, Captain Bouchard, at Fort Rachid near Rosetta in 1799 (Fagan 77-80).[7] For after the French army had surrendered to the British at Alexandria

in 1801, the coveted Rosetta Stone became part of the antiquarian property confiscated by the British. It was duly packed off to the British Museum in 1802, but not before the French made and distributed lithographic copies to those linguists intent on deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics (Fagan 81; "Hieroglyphics" 111).

The popular and intellectual appropriation of Egypt by Britain, which was everywhere evident in London more than a century later, was not without its irony, however: Etienne Geoffry Saint-Hilaire, a commissioned zoologist with Napoleon's campaign, had protested Britain's despoliation of Egypt, lamenting that France would much prefer to "destroy our property" and "scatter it amid the Libyan sands or throw it into the sea" than see it shipped to the British Museum (Fagan 81). Yet with the defeat of Napoleon, Egypt's sacred relics became common commodities with market-place value. Long before Jean Francois Champollion's and Thomas Young's successful decipherment of the Rosetta Stone kindled scholarly interest in Egypt, popular interest was fueled by Napoleon's defeat and by the subsequent shipment of Egyptian antiquities to Albion shores. The spoils of war created a public sensation, and the public responded enthusiastically to William Bullock's exhibition of Napoleon's carriage at Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly (Altick 239-40; Disher 159).

Meanwhile, in Egypt, the British had returned the government of Egypt to the Turks, and in 1805, Mohammud 'Ali installed himself as pasha of the Nile Valley (Greener 101). In the interests of soldering political ties with European governments and of bolstering a failing Egyptian economy, 'Ali opened Egypt to the wholesale plunder of her antiquities (Greener 103). When 'Ali allowed tourists and antiquity dealers free run of the Nile Valley, portable artifacts and papyri fragments became the fashion in London. It was not long before the Valley was ascramble with curious foreigners in search of a piece of Egypt, and often mummies were desecrated and destroyed by those looking for amulets, scarabs, and small statues hidden in their wrappings (Fagan 85). After 1805, middle-Eastern geographies "which began as markets and fields for investment soon became opportunities for travel and sources of knowledge" (Vickery 27). For in addition to tourism, 'Ali encouraged the large-scale depredation of Egypt by amateur archaeologists because it insured international interest in Egypt (Fagan 85). Under a Janus mask of "diplomacy" and "archaeology," the Napoleonic struggle to occupy and to understand Egypt continued between France and Britain throughout the nineteenth century.

It is ironic that the archaeological scattering of middle-Eastern antiquity which prepared for H.D.'s modernist reperceptions of the past had a cohesive effect on Western

culture during the nineteenth century. Popular and intellectual culture shared in the archaeological discovery of the past throughout the century: first Egypt, then Babylon, Troy and Crete. Archaeology harnessed the divergent popular and academic energies of a century preoccupied with its ancient origins. The publicity generated by archaeological discovery provided a focus for the intersection of usually parallel cultural interests: it sparked a wide-ranging cultural exchange between popular taste and academic learning, between the showcased artifact and the printed word. While it is not within the scope of my study to detail these nineteenth-century cultural intersections, it is nonetheless important to indicate something of their range and significance in London and Philadelphia, the two cultural centers where H.D.'s interest in ancient middle-Eastern civilizations took root.

One cannot overestimate the impact archaeological discoveries had on the popular imagination of the nineteenth century. In nineteenth-century London, popular interest in archaeology received its greatest impetus through exhibitions of artifacts travellers brought home from foreign lands. Archaeological exhibitions provided an educational forum, supplying event he most illiterate with tangible evidence of a forgotten past and awakening in them a spiritual awe before its splendor. For the crowd standing

before the reconstructed grandeur of ancient civilizations, Richard Altick argues, "the vicarious became the immediate, the theoretical and general became the concrete and specific" (Altick, Shows 1). His exhaustive study of popular culture in The Shows of London notes at least two such exhibitions which generated popular interest in the archaeological excavations in Egypt and Assyria during the first half of the nineteenth century.[8]

The spectacle of Giovanni Belzoni's recovery of the bust of Memnon for the British Museum in 1816 is one such moment which shaped popular perceptions of Egypt and paved the way for large-scale exhibitions. Originally billed as a strongman at Bartholomew's Fair, Belzoni's engineering abilities and wander-lust took him to Egypt in 1815. Unable to obtain an engineering contract from the pasha 'Ali of Egypt, he contracted with British consulate, Henry Salt, to remove the giant bust of young Memnon (Ramses II) on behalf of the British Museum. In 1816, Belzoni removed the colossal bust buried face upwards in the sand near the Ramesseum, past which H.D. was to drive more than a century later. In order to remove it, he had to construct a cart and hire local peasants to drag the carefully balanced bust through miles of sand to the Nile (Disher 79, 85)[9]--a feat which Belzoni took artistic pains to preserve in his

watercolor depicting the Lilliputian scene (Clayton, Pl. XVIII 114-15).

Londoners, however, cared little about the techniques involved in Belzoni's most recent strongman performance; it was the performance itself, enacted against the exotic panoramic backdrop of Egypt, that enthralled them. Belzoni himself was also a little enthralled by the event. Contemplating the bust, he recorded in his Narrative that the colossal head of the young Memnon seemed "smiling on me, at the thought of being taken to England" (62). H.D., in her visits to the Egyptian Gallery at the British Museum where the bust was displayed, would have recalled Shelley's famous sonnet "Ozymandias" (1817), written on the occasion of his visit to the British Museum when the bust first arrived in London. Like Shelley, H.D.'s poetic reperceptions of Egyptian myth would be in tension with popular perceptions of Egypt in her own historical moment. Recuperating though art the "shattered visage" of the larger Memnon bust too heavy for Belzoni to remove from its bed of sand, Shelley offered an alternative perception of the "smile" Belzoni and his adoring public misperceived in their thralldom. The "wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command" half sunk in the sands of Egypt, far from the shores of England, told that "its sculptor well those passions read/ Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,/ The

hand that mocked them and the heart that fed" (lines 4-8). Shelley's sonnet, like the half sunk "shattered visage" it mocked and by which it was mocked, seemed appropriate commentary on an age unable to read the enigmatic hieroglyph of Egypt's greatness both riddled by sand and diminished by its own popular mockery of it.[10]

Belzoni's popular billing as a self-taught Egyptologist and a self-styled archaeologist guaranteed his position in the service of Henry Salt, who from 1816-1820 continued to finance Belzoni's excavations of the temple of Abu Simbel, the royal tombs in the Valley of Kings, and the Pyramids of Giza--where H.D. could easily have noted Belzoni's signature indelibly chipped on the second Pyramid (Disher 1). Belzoni brought back from these excavations enough artifacts and scaled drawings to recreate Egypt as a public spectacle in the first successful exhibition of Egyptian artifacts at William Bullock's Egyptian Hall, 170-173 Piccadilly. In 1820, Belzoni returned to London with his cache of Egyptian antiquities. Primed by the 1820 publication of his two-volume travelogue, Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations, in Egypt and Nubia . . ., an eager public descended upon Egyptian Hall May 1, 1821 for the opening of Belzoni's Egyptian exhibition (Altick, Shows 244; Ceram 92). The exhibition was remarkable for its scaled models of

temples and pyramids, its colorful panoramic murals of Egyptian landscapes, its publicity, and its popular year-long run. "All in all," concludes Altick, "it was a dramatic exhibition which did much to spread interest in ancient Egypt and in archaeology at large among the general public" (Shows 245). Although Egyptian Hall was demolished in 1904 before H.D.'s arrival in London, facades on the "Egyptian House of shops and offices" replaced it (Shows 504).

Although Belzoni's exhibition at Egyptian Hall initially generated a popular response to ancient Egypt, that response was sustained by artists flocking to Egypt with sketchbooks throughout the century. Denon's remarkable Description de l'Egypte (1809-13) and Belzoni's massive watercolors, which did much to alter the appearance of London architecture, were followed by visual representations of Egyptian ruins in popular illustrated books.[11] Among the most notable was British artist David Robert's Egypt and Nubia (1846-50). His paintings of Dendera, Karnak, Edfu, and Philae revealed to the untravelled public an artistic perception of Egyptian landscapes and monuments as colossal, enigmatic, and sublime (Clayton 49). His General View of the Island of Philae (1838), for example, captured the scaled receding frames of local peasants and palms dwarfed by ruined columns and porticoes in the foreground, in turn

dwarfed by the colossal temples of Philae in the middleground, which were in their turn dwarfed by the vast, sublime, and terrifying emptiness of sand and sky in the background (Clayton, Pl. XXIV 154-55). His prolific sketches, oils, and watercolors of Philae and other ancient sites offered the nineteenth century vast panoramic views of ancient Egypt which doubled as psychological portraits of an age mesmerized by its representational perceptions of the past.

Amelia Edwards notes the popularity of Egyptian paintings such as Roberts' in A Thousand Miles up the Nile (1877), a travelogue in H.D.'s personal library (Smyers, "H.D.'s Books" 20). The temple of Isis at Philae, she writes, was one of many oft-painted monuments made possible by archaeological excavation and absorbed by nineteenth-century culture:

> that Temple . . . has been so often painted, so often photographed, that every stone of it, the platform on which it stands, and the tufted palms that cluster round it, have been since childhood as familiar to our mind's eye as the Sphinx or the Pyramids. (Qtd. in Clayton 152)

In "Hesperia" (1934), H.D. draws on pictorial representations like Roberts' for reperceiving those same stones, platform, and tufted palms which compose Margaret Fairwood's reconstruction of the temple of Isis at Philae. In this sequel to Palimpsest, the island and temple of Isis are submerged by the dammed waters of the Nile, yet Margaret

is able to reperceive "against the somewhat irritated surface of her underlids, formal drawing, art-school design, Isis on a sheet of drawing paper, the pylons, draughtsmen's samples in History of Art or History of Architecture" (11). With her "mind's eye" trained by nineteenth-century artistic responses to Egypt, H.D. gives us a subliminal frame of a previous century's perception of the temple of Isis. But H.D. moves beyond that perception to reperceive the disinterred fragment of her pictorial memory. She fuses her moment of remembering with Isis's search for the scattered remnants of Osiris, reanimating remembered pictures of Philae by re-membering with Isis the fragment of Osiris buried there (38).

Yet H.D.'s perceptions of Egypt, guided on the one hand by "draughtsmen's samples in History of Art or History of Architecture" and, on the other, by Miss Helen's modernist cultural collage, was only part of a larger field of perceptions shaped by nineteenth-century archaeological excavation. Egypt's biblical ties with the Holy Land, especially the Israelite captivity, added significantly to popular interest in ancient Egypt during the last half of the nineteenth century. Simultaneous with excavations in Egypt, popular interest in ancient civilization escalated during the 1840s when discovery of the biblical cities of Nineveh and Nimrud "on which the God of the Bible visited

his mighty wrath" and where "reigned terrible kings who had other gods besides Him" made frontpage news (Ceram 245).[12] In 1843, Paul Emile Botta unearthed the palace walls of King Sargon at Nineveh, discovering among the ruins a civilization parallel to Egypt's and extending as far back into history (Ceram 250-51; Keller 21-22, 33; Parrot 15-19).

Ironically inspired by One Thousand and One Nights rather than by Holy Writ, Austen Henry Layard added to growing interest in biblical ties with the East in his excavation at Nimrud in 1845, bringing to life the names of Old Testament kings and the descendants of Ham and Noah and recovering for the British Museum great sculptures of winged bulls and lions (Ceram 277, 294-97). In 1849 Layard resumed digging at Nineveh, where Botta had begun, discovering within the palace of King Assurbanipal (688-626 B.C.) a library comprising nearly thirty-thousand volumes of clay tablets, among them the Gilgamesh tablets (Ceram 307-09; Budge, By Nile and Tigris 1: 46). Assurbanipal's library, like the Rosetta Stone, was duly crated and shipped off to the British Museum. In 1872, George Smith, assistant curator of the Egyptian-Assyrian room at the British Museum, would finally decipher the cuneiform tablets and deliver before the Society of Biblical Archaeology the "Chaldean Account of the Deluge" from which Noah's account of the flood in Genesis was derived (Budge, By Nile and Tigris

1: 6). According to E. A. Wallis Budge, who was studying Assyrian cuneiform at the British Museum, the "immediate result of Smith's paper, which marks an epoch in the annals of Assyriology, was a rush to the British Museum by the public to see the baked clay tablets from Nineveh, from which the Legend had been recovered" (Budge, By Nile and Tigris 1: 7).

To what degree public confidence in biblical authority was shaken or assaulted by Smith's decipherment is difficult to gauge. Long before Smith's decipherment of the Gilgamesh tablets undermined the biblical authority of Noah's flood, however, Layard's Nineveh and Its Remains and Nineveh and Babylon (1851-53), like Belzoni's Narrative, had already begun to prepare popular perceptions of these decadent biblical cities for a successful archaeological exhibition (Ceram 92). In 1854, the biblical cities of Nineveh and Babylon were reconstructed at the London Crystal Palace in Sydenham, where the technological exhibition of 1851 had been housed. The Syrian Room featured "enormous bulls and columns, reflecting the treasures just added to the British Museum from Layard's excavations," among which were included fragments from the Gilgamesh tablets (Altick, Shows 484; Ceram 276). For the first time in Western Europe, Ceram writes, the general public was able "to form some idea of the luxury and splendor of those biblical cities so often

condemned by the prophets as sinks of sin and corruption" (Ceram 276).

At mid-century, the popular perception of Babylon's magnificence which Layard's exhibition did much to foster was clearly in tension with a Judeo-Christian perception of its sin and corruption. In his Illustrated Bible (1866), however, Gustave Dore managed to superimpose these differing perceptions. His illustrations offered the masses a view of biblical stories foregrounded against reconstructions of "Egyptian and Assyrian architecture" studied from "books and museums" (A Dore Gallery 36). His superimposition aligned biblical events with archaeological reconstructions in ways that visually prepared for H.D.'s ability to superimpose reality on pictures of the ancient past--a manner of perception Freud would characterize as her discovery of "reality 'superimposed' (his word) on the pictures" (TF 119). The care with which H.D. perused Dore's illustrations as a child is apparent both in Tribute to Freud where her dream of the Princess reminds her of Dore's Moses in the Bulrushes (TF 37), and in The Gift, where H.D.'s actual memory of a boatride on a lake guides her memory to his

illustration of the "innocents . . . on the water lilies." Just as the boat

> shoved against the bulrushes and then the bulrushes got thinner and you could see through them . . . you saw what was there you knew that something was reminded of something. That something remembered something. That something came true in a perspective and a dimension (though those words, of course, had no part in my mind) that was final . . .. (G 71-72)

What H.D. perceives in the "papyrus swamp" as she looks through the slatted bulrushes is some first, original source of the palimpsest of civilization mirrored in her childhood re-enactment of it.

At about the same time Dore's Illustrated Bible attained popularity among Sunday school teachers, Heinrich Schliemann unearthed the foundations of Bronze Age Greece. His discovery of Troy in Hissarlik, Turkey in 1871 was the talk of Western culture during the late nineteenth century. "At the time of these reports [1873]," one museum director said, "great excitement prevailed among scholars and public alike. Everywhere, in the home and on the street, in the post coach and the railway car, the talk was of Troy. People were filled with astonishment and questions" (qtd. in Ceram 56). The romantic image of Schliemann reading Homer's Iliad as he stood before what he imagined to be the Scaean gates of Troy transformed Homer's literary epic into an apparently reliable social history of Aegean culture dating as far back as the 14th century B.C.[13] That love for a

beautiful woman had caused the Trojan war and that the wiles of Ulysses had ended it suddenly seemed less fable than fact. While most classical scholars balked at the possibility that the heroes of Troy and Mycenae were anything more than legendary fictions, the public was quite willing to believe Schliemann had discovered the very walls of Troy town around which Achilles had dragged Hector's body and from which Andromache had hurled herself as Troy burned.

Private exhibitions of foreign curios waned after mid-century. News publicity, however, increased with reports of Schliemann's discoveries in Troy and, later, Mycenae. Schliemann's discovery of Priam's gold and Helen's jewels proved tangible evidence that the beginnings of Western civilization were to be sought in the buried treasure troves of the east (Cottrell 52). Whether or not the Trojan's golden-handled cups, "Helen's" jeweled headdress, and "Agamemnon's" golden death mask were indeed Homeric remnants was finally immaterial to the masses bedazzled by concrete evidence that treasures could be found in the earth if one dug deeply enough.

In its reports on Schliemann's "New Discoveries at Troy," even the London Times seemed inclined to favor the popular belief "that there must be some kind of historical foundation for all mythological and epic poetry" (London Times 27 May 1874: 7c). Schliemann thus maintained control

of the public imagination through the sheer wealth of his finds and his proofs of the "historical foundation" of the Homeric epics, the Euripidean and Sophoclean tragedies, and the ancient Greek histories of Herodotus and Pausanius which had so unerringly guided him in his purpose (Cottrell 36-98). Less than a half-century later, H.D.'s imagination, too, would be guided by Greek literary and historical sources which had inspired Schliemann to investigate the interrelation of Aegean cultures. "Pausanius was the Baedeker of his time," she writes. "I for one, find layers and layers of suggestive exquisite beauty in these 'dusty' sentences" (NEPG 2: 1, 4a).

Although loved in the newspapers, Schliemann was loathed in learned journals like Nea Hellas, New Greece, and Athenaeum (London Times 1 Apr. 1874: 3c; 18 Apr. 1874: 5c; 2 June 1874: 7f). In New Greece, German scholars questioned the validity of Schliemann's claim to have found Priam's treasures (Cottrell 36-72). The extent of scholarly consternation, writes Ceram, "may be gauged by the fact that ninety publications about Troy and Homer were fired off by scholars during the years of Schliemann's activity [in Troy and Mycenae]. The prime target of their philippics was his dilettantism" (Ceram 56). British philippics, however, were tempered with encouragement. When Schliemann read his paper

entitled "The Discovery of Homeric Troy" before the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House on Thursday evening June 28, 1875, Mr. Gladstone, Prime Minister and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, opened discussion with an encomium which notably figured Schliemann as an archaeological giant representative of an age in search of its origins:

> I think that we see in Dr. Schliemann a spectacle, not perhaps so rare in his own country [Germany] as it is among us, of the most pure, simple-minded, and ardent devotion to the cause of literature and knowledge in one of its most interesting departments. . . . Also, as Lord Stanhope has said, he has conferred a service which cannot be over-estimated or forgotten in the history of primeval inquiry itself (cheers). . . . I think, indeed, our debt as regards Dr. Schliemann is really independent of the truth or untruth of his discovery. We owe a debt to him for his devotion and for his example--a debt which could never be cancelled even if it were to fail in the proof of any of his conclusions (Hear, hear). (London Times 30 June 1875: 9e)

By scholarly standards, Schliemann's proofs had failed: he had not, after all, discovered either Priam's Troy or Agamemnon's Mycenae, but 13th- and 14th-century civilizations far older than the Trojan War, which probably occurred around 1180 B.C. (Cottrell 82, 85-96).

Schliemann's case typified an era of archaeology dominated by a popular tradition of amateur and eccentric archaeologists. The last eccentric to shape popular perceptions of ancient middle-Eastern civilization at the end of the century was Sir Arthur Evans,"a wealthy amateur

archaeologist to whom Schliemann bequeathed his desire to excavate the Daedalean labyrinths of Crete and from whom H.D. would begin to formulate her own perception of the mythical and archaeological understructure of modern consciousness.

The London Times carried the first full-length article describing the mythological and historical importance of Sir Arthur Evans' excavation at Knossos, Crete on August 10, 1900. "Here," the correspondent reported, "Daedalus constructed the Labyrinth, the den of the Minotaur, and fashioned the wings--perhaps the sails--with which he and Icarus took flight over the Aegean" (10 Aug. 1900: 10.4). Here, too, was the maritime empire of King Minos, the birth-cave of Zeus, and the sanctuary of Europa and the white bull. The history of this fabled island, according to the London Times, proved a milestone in archaeological studies and a "stepping-stone of civilization in its passage from the south and east to the north and west" (10.4).

Evans' original interest in Crete, deriving from his interest in pictographs found on Cretan coins, pointed to Crete as an intermediary stage in the diffusion of hieroglyphics and cuneiform from Egypt and Babylon to Greece (Cottrell 111). Dubious of nineteenth-century theories concerning the Egyptian origins of Hellenic civilization,[14] Evans set out for Crete in 1894, ostensibly in search of a

Cretan version of the Rosetta Stone. When he began digging there in 1900, he discovered not a bilingual tablet, but jewelry from Phoenicia and Egypt, broken pottery from Troy and Mycenae, and richly painted frescoes in the throne room of King Minos' palace depicting commercial relations between these contemporaneous civilizations (The London Times 10 Aug. 1900: 10.4). These artifacts and architectural remains told a story of cultural commerce and exchange: Evans' excavation uncovered definite proof that Crete had been a flourishing hub of civilization around 1600 B.C., a convenient way station in the migration of civilization from Egypt to Crete, and Troy to Greece (Cottrell 111, 126-33; Ceram 73; Budge, By Nile and Tigris 1: 140-42).

Evans' excavation of Crete in 1900 supported a theory of cultural migration very close to H.D.'s formulation more than a half-century later. "Egypt, Crete, Greece, early Rome meet here," she wrote in 1955, after visiting an Etruscan exhibit with Bryher. "I feel so clearly that Troy was founded along with Mycenae, and belongs to the Minoan or original Cretan civilisation" (CF). Though H.D.'s search for the precise "formula" (a word which resonates throughout her writings) or ordering of her cultural palimpsest would span six decades, it was a formula she surely intuited as early as 1902, correlating roughly with her study of ancient Greek and Roman history at Friends' Central, when publicity

of Evans' excavation in Crete was at its height (Cottrell 114-57). Hers would be a formula characterized in the spatial, temporal, and narrative terms of "trying to pin down my map, to plot the course of my journey, to circumscribe my own world or simply to put a frame around my clock face" (HDDA 220). The palimpsestic narratives which plot the course of her women characters' search for their mythic and historical beginnings are shaped by H.D.'s "unanswered questions or the seemingly vague questing . . . preliminary to the answered question, to the quest" which began as early as Miss Helen's history lesson on Egypt in the mid-1890's (HDDA 220).

Evans' archaeological discovery exhumed Crete's mythic past as an historical event in the past and the present. It had a psychological resonance for H.D., as well. In The Classical World of H.D., Thomas B. Swann alludes to the role archaeology played in the formation of her imagination. "In her Bryn Mawr years [1905-06],"[15] he writes, "the archaeological discoveries of the day (the exploration of Evans in Crete, to name only the most important) were featured in newspapers as well as learned journals" (6). It is likely that H.D. registered the psychological, historical, and mythical resonances of mythic images cast up by Evans' excavations. Daedalus, the Minotaur, and Icarus corresponded with images already present in her psyche via

Miss Helen's reading of Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales (TF 186). Evans' discovery, like Schliemann's, once again presented a mytho-historical basis for interpreting the past.

"Mythology is actuality, as we now know," H.D. writes in The Gift (25). And actuality, as we know, was for H.D. the gift of superimposing living reality on pictures of ancient civilizations, or of having dreams or psychic "pictures [come] true" in the pages of fairytales and histories or under the hermetically sealed glass of museum showcases (G 48; TF 65). At whatever level of complexity H.D. may have consciously registered connection between her fairytales and archaeological excavations in the Aegean, her consciousness of myth as actual makes sense only in the context of archaeology at the turn of the century. Like the Dore Bible illustrations of the Tower of Babel which would have come true for H.D. in the wake of Koldewey's widely publicized excavations at Babylon (1898-1906) (Ceram 331), she saw in Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales that Minoan myth "was the same kind of thing, it was real. It went on happening, it did not stop" (G 48).

The coincidence of Evans' excavation, H.D.'s consciousness of it, and her psychological grounding in middle-Eastern myths demonstrates a traceable route of transmission from Evans in the field to H.D. during her Bryn

Mawr years. From this particular coincidence of historical event and mythic memory it is possible to derive a larger principle concerning the archaeological character of H.D.'s consciousness of myth and history. H.D.'s consciousness may be characterized as an archaeological site where layers of history and myth occasionally align, occasionally grant her glimpses through the "slats" of mytho-historical memory to a matrix of civilization's beginnings--Egypt, Troy, Crete--which her writings reconstruct. While she acknowledges the difficult critical task of assessing her superimposition of history and myth, "H.D. by Delia Alton" and Freud's theories of the childhood of the race nonetheless indicate that in some fourth dimension, correspondences exist between the clock time of linear history and the psychological time of mythic memory (HDDA 221).

To understand H.D.'s penchant for superimposing myth and history, it is helpful to consider the impact of archaeological excavation on nineteenth-century historiography. The excavations of Evans and his predecessors had opened up a "gigantic increase in scientific and historical data" which left nineteenth-century historians "floundering in quagmires of inferences and implications" concerning the historical foundations of middle-Eastern myths (Vickery 22, 27). How they would

organize and cohere this welter of data depended upon their reconstruction of the historical content of civilization's origins within the narrative form of myth.

Historiography

Archaeology seemed to make available for the first time the sources of ancient civilization previously buried and forgotten. As nineteenth-century lamps of learning began to dissipate "the thick mist which had hitherto obscured such remote subjects of antiquarian research" (London Times 30 June 1875: 9e), Altick observes the "human mind had to adjust itself to staggering new concepts of time" and a new ordering of the past (Victorian 99). The rise and fall of Egyptian, Assyrian, Trojan, and Minoan civilizations, the commerce carried on between them in times of peace and war, the language of mute things attesting to their power and brilliance--each of these archaeological discoveries conspired to push the nineteenth century towards a more exact knowledge of the ancient past. The palimpsestic nature of civilizations, the continuity of history, the simultaneity of competing cultures--all of these disruptions of previous orderings of time converged to contest the authority of antiquarian perceptions of the past. Nineteenth-century art continued to give an imaginative coherence to the material remains of ancient civilizations in the carefully reconstructed "pictures" which dominated

exhibits, paintings, and biblical illustrations. Yet underlying antiquarian and popular perceptions of myth and history, an even greater need for the systematic coherence of the past existed within the intellectual projects of linguists deciphering forgotten languages and nineteenth-century historians reinterpolating this same material.

The first task for nineteenth-century historians involved defining history apart from myth. Prior to the decipherment of hieroglyphics in 1822, Herodotus' History had been the primary source of historical information about the ancient past (Clayton 7). His history, a mixture of anecdote and myth, offered a coherent narrative of the ancient past from which later historians would derive their material. For centuries thereafter, classical historians like Strabo and Pausanius, biblical commentators, Medieval alchemists, Renaissance scholars and travellers, and eighteenth-century historians were the principal authorities on the ancient worlds of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece, controlling the manner in which they were perceived (Wortham 6ff). "Since its invention by Herodotus" and until the end of the eighteenth century, historian Hayden White says, "traditional historiography has featured predominantly the belief that history itself consists of a congeries of lived stories . . . and that the principal task of historians is to uncover these stories and to retell them in a narrative"

(White ix-x). "In part," White says, "this is because historiography in the West arises against the background of a distinctively literary (or rather 'fictional') discourse which itself took shape against the even more archaic discourse of myth" (White 44). Eighteenth-century historiography, which borrowed its narrative shape and mythic content from classical sources, consequently continued to deliver the ancient past in the plotted sequence of mythic stories.[16]

Nineteenth-century archaeological excavations significantly shifted the horizon of historiography from its literary and mythic backgrounds to an unprecedented focus on artifacts and undeciphered documents as keys to unlocking the "real events" of the past. In this moment, history as a record of real events overshadowed history as a story freighted with symbolic and imaginative meanings. The decipherment of hieroglyphics further disrupted what recent historians like Hayden White characterize as an encrusted "mythical view" of history which endowed real events "with an illusory coherence" (White 64, ix). While it was not in every case clear what constituted a "real event" in the past,[17] it was clear that "real events" could be verified and that "the kinds of events traditionally conceived to be the stuff of religious belief and ritual" could not. Myth,

therefore, had to be excised from the historical record (White 66).

The second task of historians was to substitute deciphered material for mythological material. In place of myth, decipherment provided historians with a scientific system which would give them access to ancient documents containing the story of "real events." After Jean Francois Champollion and Thomas Young succeeded in deciphering the trilingual Rosetta Stone in 1822, belief in the authority of antiquarian myths to represent real events in the past began to wane. Perceptions of Egypt as a mystical and enigmatic civilization had to be reprocessed through deciphered data. Champollion proved that the hieroglyphs were not symbols containing the "true essence" of the ideas they represented. His linguistic advancement superceded the classical view popularized by Renaissance scholar Athanasius Kircher (Budge, Egyptian Language 15).[18] As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have noted, the philological decoding of hieroglyphic script begun by Champollion "and carried forward by other nineteenth-century Egyptologists started to make definitely clear the range and sophistication of linguistic experience possible even among supposedly 'barbaric' races" (No Man's Land 2: 26).

Champollion's hieroglyphic decipherment generated a crisis between a mythic narrative view of the past and a

verifiable scientific view. In "History as Decipherment," Lionel Gossman identifies in Champollion's philological argument the shift from mythic retellings of a "well-known tale whose general contours were fixed and unchanging" to historic decipherment of facts that had never been told before.[19] According to Champollion, a true history of Egypt "could be learned only out of her own mouth, only through the hieroglyphs, not, as in the past, through the words spoken _for_ her or _about_ her by her conquerors" (39).

Through decipherment, Champollion demythologized Egypt (Gossman 29). Within the broader historical field, Hayden White characterizes the nineteenth-century emphasis on historical facts as a "de-rhetorization of historical thinking" which had previously imposed rhetorical coherence upon an otherwise chaotic welter of historical evidence (White 65).[20] Young and Champollion's work, carried on by Samuel Sharpe in his _Rudiments of a Vocabulary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics_ (1837) and Samuel Birch in his hieroglyphic dictionary and translations of the Egyptian _Book of the Dead_ (1867), was to reach maturity in the work of E. A. Wallis Budge. His prolific career brought translations of Egyptian myth and history into the purview of twentieth-century historical scholarship (Wortham 97-100; _No Man's Land_ 2: 27).

Much of the Egyptian material in H.D.'s Palimpsest derives from Budge's translations of Egyptian myth and history. In addition, her study of Budge's Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics and the New York Times article on "Reading of Rosetta Stone Gave Key to Egypt's Past" familiarized her with the story of Champollion's proof that hieroglyphics constituted a complex but coherent linguistic system comprised of phonetic markers, syllabic and alphabetic characters, determinatives, and phonetic complements (Budge, Egyptian Language 30-37; NYT 18 Feb. 1923, VIII, 4: 1-8). H.D.'s view of hieroglyphics in Helen in Egypt seems conditioned, however, by a classical conception of hieroglyphs as "mystical symbols." When deciphered, they reveal "something about the true essence of things" (Wortham 10)--in Helen's case, that she herself is an undeciphered subject positioned within an unwritten history. For Helen, re-membering her past amounts to deciphering herself and deciphering herself amounts to her reassessment of her mythic and historic roles in the war between Troy and Greece (see Chp. 5).

In the abstract, history as decipherment placed new emphasis on Egypt's primary documents, curbing a rhetorical tendency among historians to invent coherent narratives of the past when there was little evidence to do so. In actual practice, however, popular historians like John Gardner

Wilkinson and John Kenrick still relied heavily upon antiquarian myths even through theirs were the first to apply objective standards to the reconstruction of Egypt's ancient history. Wilkinson's popular Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians (1837) enlarged the historicist dimensions of Egypt's religious myths in its reliance upon deciphered evidence that Egypt was an exceedingly moral civilization governed by a coherent belief in the afterlife of the soul (McCabe 13; "Hieroglyphics" 112ff). In his equally popular Ancient Egypt Under the Pharaohs (1850), Kenrick derived an accurate chronology of Egyptian dynasties from the astronomical and mathematical decipherment of the Egyptian astrological calendar.[21]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the impossibility of writing a sequential history from a single beginning became apparent. The relative simultaneity of Egypt, Assyria, Troy, and Crete had broken with an existing perception that history began with the biblical genesis and proceeded from there in a linear and progressive fashion (Wortham 100; Budge, By Nile and Tigris 1: 25, n. 2). Archaeological evidence proved instead that history was contemporaneous and multiple. It had become apparent that there were competing histories of civilization. Moreover, their chronologies could not easily be compressed into a single grid. The simultaneity of ancient histories in the

middle-East led to the need for specialized histories of ancient civilizations. The map of ancient history was therefore redrawn and quartered according to geographical divisions and only trained specialists in Egyptology, Assyriology, pre-Hellenism, and Hellenism were equipped to decipher their respective histories.

The nineteenth-century redefinition of history as factual and multiple led to the need to redefine myth. During a time when linear history was fragmenting and multiplex histories were becoming increasingly objectified and specialized, comparative mythologists were influenced by a philological emphasis upon a universal narrative of myth. The principles of structure and coherence which Champollion's decipherment had clarified for linguists served as a model for decoding myth and exposing the related understructure of ancient languages.

In 1835, during the height of German Romanticism and the excavations of forgotten cultures, Jacob Grimm postulated the "primal oneness" of language and myth in Teutonic Mythology (Feldman 409). Frederich Max Muller's Comparative Mythology (1856) advanced a similar thesis and popularized in England "the newly related fields of comparative philology and comparative mythology" (Feldman 480). Though the popularity of his work was offset by Hawthorne's bowdlerized Tanglewood Tales (1853), Thomas

Bulfinch's The Age of Fable (1855), and Charles Kingsley's The Heroes (1855), it was clear that the usually divergent interests of intellectuals and the masses were beginning to converge on the study of comparative myth.[22] From Johann Gottfried Herder's Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind (1784-91) to William Blake's Jerusalem (1804-20), from August Wilhelm Schlegel's On Literature and the Fine Arts (1801-1804) to Shelley's Prometheus Unbound (1818-19), and from Karl Otfried Muller's A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece (1840) to Nathaniel Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales (1853), myth was considered inextricably bound to any historical account of civilization's origins.[23] Its truth lay in the allegorical representation of a culture's soul rather than in its material remains.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the comparative study of myth began to position itself within the fields of anthropology and psychology. As Vickery broadly suggests, Champollion's methods for decoding Egyptian myth would ultimately restore mythic ties with history and connect the advancements of Frazer's comparative mythology with the beginnings of structuralism.[24] Such works as Frazer's The Golden Bough and Freud's Totem and Taboo would begin to explore how consciousness was structured by ritual and mythology.[25] They shifted the focus on ancient civilizations away from decoding their observable systems of

organization to examining their psychological and mythological structures of meaning. In a parallel shift, Johann Gustav Droysen's Outline of the Principles of History (1868) sought to shift the methods of historical inquiry from scientific objectivity to hermeneutic subjectivity, from decipherment as the privileged method of recounting the past to interpretation as the only method for explaining it.[26] Droysen was critical of historical methods which focused on facts at the expense of a more subjective, intuitive view of a past culture's moral beliefs and religious traditions whose spiritual meanings mere decipherment could not carry over into discourse. He therefore sought to redefine the historian's role as spiritual interpreter of the past, for the "facts" of history did not "speak for themselves, alone, exclusively, 'objectively.' Without the narrator to make them speak, they would be dumb. It is not objectivity that is the historian's best glory. His justness consists in seeking to understand" (qtd. in Longenbach 14).

Frazer's, Freud's, and Droysen's various emphases on subjective consciousness helps explain the archaeological character of the modernist conflict with history and myth. H.D., Pound, Eliot, Joyce, and, in his own way, Williams were preoccupied with the remnants of history which myth helped them to pattern. Though the mythologies and

methodologies for their transmutations of archaeology differed, they shared a nineteenth-century enthusiasm for origins and a twentieth-century impulse to transplant the creative pursuit of origins into their reconstructions and revisions of historical consciousness. For H.D., the modernist interplay between history and myth, predicated on nineteenth-century excavations which wedged them apart, would assume the narrative trajectory of Isis re-membering the past.

From her readings in archaeology, mythology, and history, H.D. began as a student to reconstruct the "childhood of the race" (TF 143). Myth was her first building block. In a letter to Thomas Swann, H.D. writes that her awareness of Aegean myth came from her father and half-brother, who were astronomers at Lehigh University in Bethlehem when H.D. was a young child. The "names Venus, Mercury, and so on, were subconsciously potent," she writes, "though consciously the fairytales were nearer" (qtd. in Swann 10). The fairytales which Miss Helen had read from Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales after lessons on Friday afternoons, with a brown paper map of Egypt very likely hanging on the blackboard, were real for H.D.. More importantly, those "stories" were her "foundation or background" (TF 186-87).

The early formation of H.D.'s mythic palimpsest featured an ancient world populated with heroic young men, powerful young women, and fantastic beasts. The myths of Theseus and the Minotaur, Europa and the white bull, Cadmus and the dragon's teeth, Circe and Ulysses, Proserpina and Pluto, and Jason and the golden fleece came to life for H.D. against Evans' archaeological backdrop of King Minos' beautiful palace and evidence of Ulysses' conquest over Troy. Her friendships with Williams and Pound in Philadelphia provided encouraging support for her mythic habits of mind, for their early reading also sprang from the flowering of nineteenth-century comparative mythologies which produced The Golden Bough. Bulfinch's Age of Fable (1881), Grimms' Fairytales (1812-15), and Hans Christian Andersen's fairytales (1835-75) were personal library staples H.D. was reading during the first publication of James Frazer's epoch-making The Golden Bough (1890), an anthropological study of comparative myth and ritual (G 27, 48).

A revival in the classics resulted from Frazer's study, and H.D.'s school curriculum reveals her training in classical literature, language study, and history. Jared Scudder's First Latin Reader (1895), Chapman's translation of Homer's The Illiad (1901), and J. A. Symonds' Studies of the Greek Poets (1890, 1892, 1895) were standard textbooks

which likely comprised H.D.'s, Williams', and Pound's "usual school routine," complemented by H.D.'s litany of the classically inclined English Romantics and Pre-Raphaelites: "Keats, Shelley, Byron, Swinburne out of school" (qtd. in Swann 10).[27] Yet Emily Mitchell Wallace's recent essay on H.D.'s school days at Friends' Central School in Philadelphia (1902-1905) reveals that though they shared a knowledge of the same childhood and adolescent texts, neither Williams nor Pound were the primary sources for H.D.'s classical habits of mind. Rather, her classical training was thoroughly grounded in the classroom (Wallace, "Friends'" 26-27, n. 2-3).[28] It is no small matter, therefore, that during her years at Friends' Central H.D. was placed "in the academically elite and demanding Classical Section"--an accelerated course of study intended to prepare her for early acceptance at Bryn Mawr (19). The curriculum requirements at Friends' Central, which favored the Humanities, clearly sharpened H.D.'s temperamental affinity for ancient civilizations (19).[29]

Translations of classical history and myth provided H.D. training in the philological facility and subjective acumen necessary to decode and interpret the meanings of ancient texts. During her course of Latin study, for example, H.D. translated the Roman histories of Caesar, Tacitus, Livy, Juvenal, and Cicero.[30] In her advanced

placement in the "Classical Section," she would have been trained, too, in translating the more difficult Latin poets--Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Catullus. In her last year at Friends' Central, Wallace notes that H.D. also "worked on her Greek whenever possible during lunchtime and free periods" (Wallace, "Friends" 22). Engaged in the verbal archaeology of translation, H.D. doubtless recognized in the historical accounts of politics, war, and defeat the unmistakable mythic pattern of love, strife, and death. Her later revisionary superimpositions of history and myth stem from her ability to pattern the "real events" of history within the narrative structures of myth.

Complementary to her study of the Greek and Latin languages was H.D.'s study of Greek and Roman history. Ancient classical histories, revised with reference to Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae, included the mythology, geography, and revised chronology of Greece and Italy, as well as a narrative of their events, changes in their governments, and accounts of their largely shared religious myths, morals, manners, and customs. Of particular interest to H.D. was Bulwar-Lytton's The Last Days of Pompeii which she "read and reread as a school-girl" (qtd. in Swann 10). This archaeological description of a petrified city was made alarmingly present to H.D. with the 1906 eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. It later

served as a handbook for her critique of classic interiors in the Italian film The Last Days of Pompeii (1926) (Stewart 29; Close Up 1 [Aug. 1927]: 30-31; Brown 21).

Williams, Pound, and H.D. lived during a time when the ancient past was made dramatically present by archaeological science. H.D. dates her own dramatic awakening to the spiritual and physical power of Greek literature from Pound's performance in the chorus of Iphigenia in Aulis in 1903 (Guest 20; Williams 57; Stock 36-37). It was an awakening sustained by "Andrew Lang's translation of Theocritus that Ezra brought me," she writes, and by museum artifacts whose spirits her own translations would awaken (ET 36).[31]

Museums

By the end of the nineteenth century, the age of privately-funded and privately-mounted exhibitions was over. The perdurability of archaeology and priceless collections depended increasingly on British Museum specialists trained in cataloguing and understanding the glut of artifacts accumulated throughout the century. On the whole, British museums were regarded by the masses as nothing more than "vast store-houses of more or less useless, and very often absurd, curiosities--or places where the public [might]

lounge about listlessly on a wet Saturday afternoon, and become by degrees infinitely bored by their surroundings" (Browne 209).

In a sense, British museums were little more than "vast store-houses." E. A. Wallis Budge, the author of a number of important Egyptian texts in H.D.'s personal library, noted that a "considerable number of antiquities of all periods drifted to Paris and London as the result of the excavations" in the middle- and near-east carried out by Belzoni, Drovetti, Mariette, Naville, Botta, Layard, and a host of archaeologists active during the century (By Nile and Tigris 1: 28). For Budge, associated since the early 1870's with the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Oriental departments of the British Museum, the bulk of unstudied finds presented problems in terms of museum space. By mid-century, explicit directives from Egyptologists forbade the continued depredation of Egypt, and Mariette[32] checked the plunder of Egypt's antiquities by urging the Egyptian government to construct a national museum in Cairo (O'Connor and Silverman 12). The Turkish government, rankled by the relocation of Assurbanipal's Library to the British Museum and outraged by Schliemann's theft of national Trojan treasures, needed no urging (Ceram 293-300; Cottrell 52-54). Thus, as it became more difficult for foreign museums to purchase antiquarian collections from eastern sites of excavation, more money had

to be channeled to excavation funds designed to restore and study artifacts in their native contexts. At a time when the conservation of antiquity was very much in jeopardy, A. H. Sayce, philologist at Oxford, and Amelia Edwards, founder of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, began sounding the call for funds to finance the on-site excavation and study of ancient civilizations.[33]

Although such concerns seem far removed from the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania where Hilda Doolittle moved in 1895, Sara Yorke Stevenson, curator of the Free Museum at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, was sounding a similar call in 1890 for middle- and near-eastern excavation funds. In the 1979 Winter issue of Expedition, devoted entirely to the formative history of the Free Museum of Science and Art (as the Museum was officially named until 1913, when it became the University Museum), David O'Connor and David Silverman review Stevenson's strong interest in building up an archaeological museum which reflected current cultural interests in the middle- and near-east. To accomplish this end, she enlisted the support of the American Exploration Society and the Egyptian Exploration Fund (15, 17).

For almost a decade, the Free Museum of Science and Art sponsored the excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie at Denderah, Abydos, Thebes, and Naukratis ("the earliest Greek

settlement in Egypt"), and, later, of Charles Woolley at Ur,[34] in exchange for authentic antiquities, duplicates of major collections in the Cairo Museum, and papyri or stele fragments to grace its new Mediterranean and Egyptian departments. On December 20, 1899, the "first section of the Museum" was declared a landmark by the New York Times, who heralded the achievements of the museum thus: "Ten years of energetic effort, liberal support and scientific exploration end today in the opening of the University's Free Museum of Science and Art" (qtd. in Expedition 36). Unlike other museums, which were acquiring the bulk of their collections through direct purchase, O'Connor and Silverman note that the collections housed at the Free Museum were "almost entirely excavated" (36).

A center of interest in Egyptology, Philadelphia's Free Museum was one of the first of its kind in America to be constructed as an educational facility. In a letter written prior to the opening of the Museum in 1899, Sara Yorke Stevenson stated that not only scholars were to have access to the Egyptian and Mediterranean materials for comparative study but also "public school teachers and pupils, as well as the people at large who [could] enjoy at home some of the benefits derived from foreign travel and a visit to the great state museums of Europe" (qtd. in Expeditions 33). Henry Browne, in his 1917 "Report on Museums in Relation to

the Humanities," noted that the "new movement to utilize public Museums for education took its rise about the last decade of the nineteenth century in the United States of America, where it is rapidly progressing" (219).[35] His tour of the Free Museum in 1916 apparently confirmed Stevenson's educational motives, for Browne wrote of the Free Museum that it was

> peculiarly interesting, perhaps unique; inasmuch as, belonging to the University, it is fully utilized by the teaching staff and it also serves as a Public Museum for a large and populous city. Its teaching activities are great. A new auditorium for lectures, which took three years to erect, is now completed. Being shown a picture of this hall crammed with girls from High Schools, I asked what subject was being taught . . . . It was on the "Life of Women in Ancient Rome," of course with lantern illustrations. I was also informed that lectures relating to Classical topics form a large proportion of those given in the Museum or in schools by the Museum Staff . . . . I considered these facts very encouraging from the Classical standpoint . . . not merely from the courses given in the Museum but also from those supplied in the schools. (264)

Stevenson's intentions that archaeology be used as a vehicle for education and Browne's assessment that such was indeed the accomplished purpose of the Free Museum suggest that a generation of students in the Philadelphia area were surely affected by Philadelphia's active archaeological interest in ancient civilizations.

For H.D., Pound, and Williams, the opening of the Mediterranean and Egyptian rooms at the Free Museum gave concrete archaeological dimension to the interplay between

myth and history learned in the classroom. H.D.'s classroom study of classical history was probably supplemented by lantern slides on topics like the "Life of Women in Ancient Rome" (available through the Free Museum) and field trips to the museum to view the Mediterranean and Egyptian collections housed there--a place where H.D. may have met with Pound to discuss Greek antiquities and her translations of Theocritus (Swann 14).

The influence ancient words and artifacts were to have in shaping modern literature and abstract art would depend largely on the British Museum as the birth site of Imagism, the role of Cambridge scholars like Frazer and Gilbert Murray as the impetus behind the classical revival of 1912, and the role of a small band of modernist writers who, by various routes, journeyed back to ancient origins for creative inspiration. Although Pound disdained archaeological and philological approaches to the past, these disciplines nonetheless furnished him with an abundance of material from which to formulate "artistic" methods of transplanting the past into the present, developed at length in his The Spirit of Romance (1910) (Stock 75). From the fertile matrix of Eastern culture he would bring back new methods for approaching the ancient past, new methods for translating the past into the present, and new methods for transplanting the vital seeds of ancient

Eastern literature into the prepared ground of modern Western literary contexts (Doria 130).

Although influenced by Pound's literary recollection of the past, for H.D. the journey back to origins would not be strictly literary: at one level, hers was to be a journey to the origins of ancient Classical, Minoan, and Egyptian myth, at another, a journey to the excavated landscapes where those myths were born and buried. She would have agreed, moreover, with Andre Parrot, Curator-in-Chief of the French National Museums in the 1950s, that the right of entry to any culture required pilgrimage in mind, soul, and body to the very shrines and temples inhabited by the spirits of the ancient world:

> Knowledge gained from books is certainly not enough, for names which are not attached to any reality are nothing more than ghosts. Ghosts of cities, shadows of men, vague floating shapes, without solidity, though one tries to capture it with the aid of a drawing, a photograph or a vivid description. All students of archaeology know this by experience: nothing can replace actual contact with the object. That is why museums are so important; because there one can recognize the long chain of human history stretching out continuously from its beginning . . .. But the object is a prisoner in its glass case. Torn from its natural surroundings it has lost its true speech. Nevertheless it exerts a pull, it beckons one to take the road. (Parrot 9)

Notes

1. 1923 January 25 entry from Pearson's Notes, transcribed from missing journals kept by Bryher and compiled by Louis Silverstein, "Planting the Seeds: Selections from the H.D. Chronology," H.D. Newsletter 2.2: 8. Any reference to Pearson's Notes are taken from Louis Silverstein's publication of H.D.'s journey to Egypt. Pertinent dates will be incorporated within the text with parenthetical reference to Silverstein's article. For the sake of consistency, I have changed Pearson's transcription of Bryher's journal from present to past tense. In my effort to reconstruct H.D.'s journey to Luxor, I have occasionally elaborated with details from H.D.'s Palimpsest and her copy of Baedecker's Egypt and the Sudan (see Virginia Smyers's "H.D.'s Books in the Bryher Library" [18] 7th Edition. Leipzig: Karl Baedecker, 1914. H.D.'s owl bookplate. H.D.'s inscription: Hilda Aldington Jan 11 1923"). For some historical detail, I also use Nancy McGrath's Frommer's Dollarwise Guide to Egypt, which H.D. did not have. To date, H.D.'s and Bryher's missing journals on the Egypt journey have not been located.

2. See Nancy McGrath's Frommer's Dollarwise Guide to Egypt (45, 55), where she notes that the Shepheard's Hotel was destroyed during Nasser's 1952 revolution and rebuilt on the banks of the Nile. The Opera House burned in 1969. References to Frommer's Guide will be parenthetically incorporated in the text by author and page number. See also James Stevens Curl's The Egyptian Revival: An Introductory Study of the Recurring Theme in the History of Taste (187), where he notes that the "Khedive of Egypt commissioned Verdi to write Aida" for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, but it was not performed until 1871. It was celebrated as much for its music as for its elaborate Egyptian stage design.

3. I am unable to find a guidebook reference to what Pearson variously transcribes as "Hatorius" and "Hatorin" from Bryher's journal. My guess is that it refers either to a Hathor temple in the vicinity of the Egyptian Museum, or that it is simply a name designating a bazaar at which they shopped.

4. See H.D.'s Autobiographical Notes, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, pp. 13-14. Because H.D.'s notes on Egypt are

so spare--she gives city, days spent, and cost of stay--I depend, rather, on Pearson's Notes for its more elaborate detail.

5. See H.D.'s Palimpsest, p. 267, where Margaret Fairwood describes her view of the Winter Palace. Rafton's comment to Margaret Fairwood, while they converse in the Luxor Hotel garden, clearly offers a suggestive perspective on H.D.'s probable reaction to the noise and crowds in the Winter Palace which precipitated their move to the Luxor Hotel. John A. Larson, Museum Archivist at The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, writes to me that "I have the impression that [during the twenties] the Winter Palace was favored by Americans, while the older Luxor Hotel tended to be a stopping place for British and Continental European tourists." This division is clearly indicated in H.D.'s novel, since the American tourists whom Helen Fairwood befriends have taken rooms in the Winter Palace, while she herself, an ex-patriot, has taken rooms in the Luxor Hotel.

6. The bracketed material alludes to details of Hatshepsut's journey to Punt (present-day Somalia) engraved on the walls of her funerary temple in the valley of Deir el Bahari. Hatshepsut's venture in Punt was commercial rather than military (see McGrath 261).

7. See the New York Times article on Champollion's decipherment of the Rosetta Stone, illus. 18 Feb 1923, VIII, 4: 1-8.

8. Richard Altick's The Shows of London offers a view of the vast variety of London entertainments in the first half of the nineteenth-century. In addition to a popular penchant for archaeological exhibitions, diversion and entertainment were sought at shows featuring dinosaurs and human oddities at Fairs and circuses. Such public curiosity over the beginnings of civilization and the exotic or cultural "Other" clearly merge with archaeological interests. Landscape painting on the grand scale--panoramic murals--were also regularly featured in London shows and were an integral part of most archaeological exhibitions.

9. See Maurice Wilson Disher's biographical account of Belzoni's Egyptian excavations in his Pharaoh's Fool (17, 85), where he notes that, seventeen years before Belzoni, Napoleon's soldiers had unsuccessfully attempted to remove the bust of Memnon by drilling a hole in its shoulder and hauling it by rope to the Nile. Other extensive treatments

of Belzoni's years in Egypt are given in Fagan's The Rape of the Nile and Leslie Greener's The Discovery of Egypt.

10. For an account of Shelley's romantic conception of the hieroglyph, see John Irwin's American Hieroglyphics (85-89, 306-08).

11. Peter Clayton's The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt includes an extensive array of nineteenth-century artistic reproductions by and commentary on artists noted for their historical paintings of Egypt: Abel de Pujol, Adrien Guignet, David Roberts, Ippolito Rosellini, Jean-Leon Gerome, Sir Edward Poynter, Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema, and Edwin Long (177-81).

12. C. W. Ceram's Gods, Graves & Scholars: The Story of Archeology, originally published by New York: Knopf, 1951, is a book listed in H.D.'s personal library housed at the Beinecke.

13. In Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy Schliemann notes his reference to Homer's Iliad VI. 392-93 in identifying the Scaean gate: "Hektor hastened from his home/ backward by the way he had come through the well-laid streets. So/ as he had come to the gates on his way through the great city,/ the Skaian gates, whereby he would issue into the plain . . ." (The Iliad of Homer, Trans. Richard Lattimore, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) VI. 390-93.

14. In a conversation with an Oxford colleague of Evans', Leonard Cottrell reports that according to Sir John Myres, "Continental opinion had attributed most of the characteristic features of Greek civilization to Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences. But in about 1890 there was a reaction, and in 1893 Solomon Reinach brought out a book called Le Mirage Oriental which made a formal challenge to all Orientalizing theories. Reinach contended that the West had, throughout, shown a large measure of originality and genius of its own. Evans . . . was greatly impressed with this alternative point of view" (qtd. in Cottrell 110).

15. See Emily Mitchell Wallace's "Hilda Doolittle at Friends' Central School in 1905," H.D. Newsletter, 1.1: 17, where she clarifies the dates of H.D.'s attendance at Bryn Mawr. It would have been during H.D.'s years at Friends' Central that the news broke concerning Evans' discovery of ancient Cretan civilization.

16. Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall, one of the first eighteenth-century histories to debunk antiquarian sources, gave rationalist proof that "historians could write well of the decline of peoples and nations, but less well of the problems of the origins and rise of these peoples" (Feldman 186). Concerning origins, as Gibbon well knew, the historian was left only with the insupportable claims of myth and the devices of rhetoric.

17. According to Hayden White, the shared narrative strategies of "emplotment" in history, literature, and myth complicate any distinction between "'real' rather than 'imaginary' events" (The Content of the Form 44). Nineteenth-century scientific pressures on historiography, however, delimited the function of imagination in the production of objective representations of the "real" past (45). From the point of view of historians, the nineteenth-century dilemma was how to represent the "real" past which had no referent and which, therefore, had to be filtered through the subjective consciousness of the historian. The practical problems attendant in trying to free history from the taint of narrative are obvious. Hajo Holburn poses the dilemma between historical methodology and authorial practice thus: "The central problems of a historical methodology of epistemology hinge upon the fact that an objective knowledge of the past can only be obtained through the subjective experience of the scholar" (History and the Humanities 79).

18. Athanasius Kircher's mystical and hermetic views of the hieroglyph are as remarkable for their absurdity as for their popularity. As late as 1821, the Edinburgh Review December (1826) 45.89 noted that Kircher's views were still rivaling Champollion's ground-breaking work on deciphering the hieroglyph. See Joscelyn Godwin's Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge.

19. For the impact of decipherment on romantic historiography, see Lionel Gossman's "History as Decipherment: Romantic Historiography and the Discovery of the Other" in New Literary History Autumn (1986) 18(1): 38-39. In The Story of Religious Controversy, Joseph McCabe also makes note of the historical controversy surrounding decipherment (13). For an account of the controversy current with Champollion's decipherment, see "Hieroglyphics" in the Edinburgh Review December (1926) 45.89: 112ff.

20. Kant's critique of historical thinking had rendered a mythic view of the past untenable by rationalist standards (Feldman 225), thus reaffirming for nineteenth-

century historians "the Aristotelian distinction between history and poetry--between the study of events that had actually occurred and the imagining of events that might have occurred" (White 66). Positioned within the larger debate over the mythic content and narrative form of antiquarian historiography, Champollion's decipherment seemed at last to enable Egypt's historians to distinguish its history from its myths, the contents of its real events from its narrative package.

21. Kenrick's verifiable chronology of Egypt effectively destabilized the chronological authority of the Bible which, until the nineteenth century, had been the standard against which Egyptian chronologies had been measured. Sir Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology (1830), which had earlier refuted the biblical account of creation with an evolutionary account of the great age of the earth, only confirmed the historical impossibility of the biblical genesis. The historical authority of the Bible was further undermined by the publication of David Strass's Das Leben Jesu (1835-36), which saw "the Gospel narratives as preeminently myths and sought to isolate their underlying historical truth from any and all forms of supernaturalism" (Vickery 16; Feldman 450-62). Even the spiritual foundations of the Bible were shaken by the archaeological discovery of Assurbanipal's library at Nineveh at mid-century and George Smith's subsequent decipherment of the cuneiform Gilgamesh tablets in the early 1870's. The Bible, it seemed, was merely a collection of myths among other middle-Eastern collections of myth. And if pagan myth had to be excised from the annals of history, so too, it seemed, did Judeo-Christian myth. Thus, as objective knowledge about the interrelationship of ancient cultures increased throughout the nineteenth century, the spiritual power of Egyptian, biblical, Hellenic, and Minoan myth diminished accordingly.

22. Though H.D. would have escaped earlier nineteenth-century intellectual debates surrounding the study of myth, she nonetheless reaped the fruits of previous laborers in the field in her reading of Grimms' Fairytales and Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales. J. Grimm's nationalistic perspective on the folk origins of German culture are surprisingly close to H.D.'s view of American folk origins in The Gift. Having witnessed a minstrel production of Uncle Tom's Cabin as a child, H.D. writes that "it was folklore and folksong, it was history" which American children could intuit through the "inherent or inherited perception" of world mythology (G 18). For excerpts on

J. Grimm, F. M. Muller, Bulfinch, and Kingsley, see Feldman's The Rise of Modern Mythology. See Jack Zipes' Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion for his treatment of the ideological framework of Grimms' Fairytales (45-70).

23. For an extensive compilation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mythographical excerpts, see Feldman's and Richardson's The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860. The Romantic celebration of myth (and mythmaking) as a function of the creative faculty was as much a reaction against as it was rooted in an eighteenth-century rationalist revaluation of myth. Though a pre-Romantic, Herder viewed myth as a mode of knowing seated in the imagination--a view essentially aligned with the romantic conception of myth as the key to culture, history, religion, and literature (Feldman 224-35). A. W. Schlegel's organic synthesis argued for the "primal unity" of all myth (341-45). Unlike Schlegel, K. O. Muller's decidedly scientific approach to myth made use of archaeological materials to refute popular theories concerning the Egyptian origins of Greek culture. He, like many German Romantics of the time, stressed the distinctively national rather than universal cast of myth (416-25).

24. In The Literary Impact of the Golden Bough, Vickery notes that nineteenth-century intellectuals "frequently talked as though the role of reason was the elimination of fancy, that of history the dispensing with myth, and that of science the displacement of religion" (5). Such extreme positions seemed not to acknowledge the scientific edge which philology gave to the study of comparative mythology. From a philological standpoint, the branches of history and myth shared a rooted interest in the processes of language and thought, though the age did not see things that way (5-7).

After Frazer, anthropological and linguistic structuralists like Claude Levi-Strauss and Noam Chomsky would advance respective theories postulating rules inherent in the mytho-social and grammatical structures of the mind (see Cook's Myth and Language, 13-36). For historians, their respective theories imply that historical reconstruction arises out of innate psychological structures which approximate the narrative patterns of myth (see Stanford, The Nature of Historical Knowledge 8-25).

25. According to Vickery, Freud's insights on tribal custom and psychological development drew for inspiration from Frazer's anthropological study of myth and ritual rather than from German mythographers (94).

26. In his introduction to Modernist Poetics of History, Longenbach views Droysen as a precursor to modern historicism of the existential type. Eliot's and Pound's approach to history stem from Droysen's attention to the subjective nature of historical understanding and Dilthey's to the relativity of such understanding (14-16). For an elaborated account of Droysen's contribution to the field of historical methodology, see White's "Droysen's Historik: Historical Writing as a Bourgeois Science" in The Content of the Form (83-103).

27. See Wallace's "Friends'" for her commentary on H.D.'s curriculum requirements. Williams' curriculum at Horace Mann High School (1899-1902) in the New York area included Latin and French languages, and Greek, Roman, and English History (Williams 44-45). The portion of Williams' library now stored at Fairleigh Dickenson University gives some indication of the educational foundation in history and myth that Williams would have shared with H.D. prior to his entrance into the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1902 (WCWR 10.2 1984). Pound's classical studies at the Cheltenham Military Academy (1897-1900) included Latin and Greek (Stock 11, 29). His Latin studies continued at the University of Pennsylvania from 1901-1903, during which time he met H.D. and Williams (Guest 3; Stock 30-35).

28. As Gilbert and Gubar have noted in No Man's Land, women studying classical languages at the turn of the century was remarkable given that such study trespassed on the preserve of patriarchal thought. Doubly remarkable is the fact that H.D.'s study of classical languages was undertaken during a time when proposals to drop such study from educational curricula was a hotly debated issue held at bay by Matthew Arnold and other defenders of classical studies on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Culture and Anarchy (1869), Matthew Arnold clearly positioned himself in the department of classical languages as the debate over the meaning of "culture" split nineteenth-century preoccupations into past and future. In his defense, he called for educational reform in the way classical grammars, literatures, and histories were taught, arguing that the study of Greek and Latin civilizations should cultivate in the student "exact habits of mind," and the study of their literatures inculcate something of the "power of antiquity" (qtd. in Connell 177).

Arnold's position was taken up by advocates of classical education for decades thereafter. According to J. K. Stephens' The Living Language, a motion for the abolition of Greek at the University of Cambridge was offered in 1891. This touched off a flurry of what Henry Browne characterizes

as a paper war: "Newspaper articles, articles in reviews, pamphlets, committees, petitions to parliament--nothing was omitted which could stir up public opinion against the wretched votaries of a study that is long dead. What was wanted [for modern education curriculum] instead was not in every case so very clear; but what had to go was unquestionable--Classical teaching chiefly, but also every kind of literary and humanistic instruction which could or seemed to interfere with the approach of the scientific millenium" (Our Renaissance 168). Gilbert Murray's The Place of Greek in Education (1899) offered a defense of Greek during a decade when the classical department at Cambridge was thriving, but even in the midst of the Classical Revival at the turn of the century, classical departments both in England and America maintained a defensive position before the advocates of practical, progressive education. Part of their defense included arguing "not on the ground that [classics] were useful in the past, but that they will be necessary in the future" (Browne 146).

Though how the past would be "necessary in the future" is not always clear, Stanley Hall's "The Culture-value of Modern as Contrasted with that of Ancient Languages," published in the New England Magazine in 1907, made clear that ancient languages were the repository of modern value--necessary to study if modern culture was to have value. Pleading that the "fertility of the future is jeopardized by neglect of the relations between Western society and its origins," Emily Putnam argued that utilitarian education deprived the modern world of a body of knowledge essential to the humane progress of society ("A Classical Education," Putnam's Monthly Jan. 1908).

Irving Babbitt, the heir of Arnold's support of cultural order and classical education, wrote in Literature and the American College: Essays in Defence of the Humanities (first published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1902) that the "current utilitarianism, which appears to exalt the study of the modern at the expense of the ancient languages, will, if yielded to, deprive the very study of a large part of its seriousness and dignity. . . . The Modern languages will escape from the suspicion of being a cheap substitute for the traditional discipline only when taught with due reference to the classical background by men who are themselves good classical scholars" (214). In view of Babbitt's assessment of the humanities in American colleges, it is interesting to note that not only does his view have pertinence for H.D.'s education between the years 1902-1906, when she was in her secondary and tertiary grades, but also for T. S. Eliot, who, in his essay on "Imperfect Critics," cites Babbitt as one able "to perceive Europe as a whole,"

by which we are left to infer that Eliot means the whole of Western tradition from classical to modern times (Sacred Wood 37; Levenson 208).

29. See Wallace's listing of H.D.'s curriculum in "Friends'," HDN 1.1: 19. The fact that H.D. did not take natural and physical sciences is worth noting in connection with Matthew Arnold's position in the nineteenth-century debates concerning the rise of science and the decline of humanistic studies.

30. See Notes on Euripides, Pausanius, and Greek Lyric Poets II:4a, where H.D. compares Pausanius' style to Livy and Juvenal--Latin writers she had translated in her adolescence.

31. Theocritus, the supposed inventor of Greek bucolic poetry, refined a pastoral mode originating in the "general cultural environment of the ancient Near East" (Halperin 117). Only recently, however, has archaeological and philological evidence recovered definite routes of the diffusion of the pastoral mode from the Near East to Greece, where Theocritus adapted it to the meters and environs of Hellas (86).

His descriptions of Greek landscapes, rendered in precise, concise, and unadorned images, coincided with the landscape of Upper Darby, where Williams' "memories of long talks with Ezra Pound and Hilda Doolittle about poetry and the future" chimed with Theocritus' Idylls "as they wandered among the wildflowers in the country outside Philadelphia during their student days" (Wallace, "Musing" 28). For H.D., Pound's gift of Lang's Theocritus, Bion and Moschus was also a powerful catalyst in the development of her classical literary practices (ET 36).

32. Drovetti was a ruthless rival to Belzoni when it came to collecting Egyptian antiquities. He was originally in the employ of Napoleon during his campaign in Egypt. According to Who Was Who in Egyptology, Drovetti and his assistants were careless in their excavations, "his hostility to other collectors was most marked, and his conduct in particular to Salt, Belzoni, and Champollion was unedifying and showed a meanness of mind, his methods and those of his agents being often quite unscrupulous" (90). Naville was a Swiss archaeologist and excavator in Egypt. He subscribed to the old school of Mariette, who was "probably the most titanic figure in the whole story of Egyptology. . . . [His] three greatest achievements were, the creation of the first National Antiquities Service, the formation of the first National Museum in the Near East from

his important discoveries, and the developing of a firstly Egyptian then world-wide conscience about the destruction, expropriation, and proper care and conservation of antiquities; backed by de Lesseps, he made a successful plea to Said Pasha for an organization to deal with the standing Egyptian monuments which were being rapidly destroyed and for a Cairo Museum in the old house at Bulaq" (194-95).

33. A. H. Sayce, a strong supporter of Schliemann's work at Troy and Mycenae, wrote the preface to Schliemann's Troja (v-xxx) and further defended Schliemann's theories of early Mycenaen civilization before classical scholars furious more with Schliemann's notoriety than with the purported verity of his discoveries. For the story behind Schliemann's discovery, see C. W. Ceram's Gods, Graves & Scholars and Leonard Cottrell's The Bull of Minos: The Discoveries of Schliemann and Evans. For a full treatment of Amelia Edwards's contributions to the advancement of archaeology, see Fagan's The Rape of the Nile, 309-23.

34. David O'Connor and David Silverman, "The University Museum in Egypt," Expedition Winter (1979) 21.2: 4-60. See especially "The Museum in the Field," Expedition Winter (1979) 21.2: 12, 19, where it is noted that Petrie founded the British School of Archaeology and instituted modern methods of excavation, dating of artifacts, and preserving of ruins on site. Ur, according to Ceram's Gods, Graves, and Scholars, was the home of Abraham and was considered the oldest culture in the world when it was finally excavated by Woolley in the late 1920s (344).

35. See Browne's Our Renaissance (220) for a list of articles issuing from America concerning the complex relationship and potential that existed between Public Museums and public education.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHAEOLOGY AND MODERNISM: RECONSTRUCTION AND REPERCEPTION

> "Ghosts cannot speak until they have drunk blood; and the spirits which we evoke demand the blood of our hearts."
> H.D., Notes on Euripides qtd. from Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Like Andre Parrot, the French National Museum Curator-in-Chief during the 1950s, Phyllis Messenger notes that most of the "physical remains of the past are at best fragments. All cultural properties . . . come with a context. Objects without a context . . . are dispossessed of the very sorts of information that are essential to their constituting a cultural heritage" (The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property 22). Representational contexts were provided for physical remains of ancient civilizations excavated during the nineteenth century. Paintings, exhibitions, histories--all tried to "capture [the past] with the aid of a drawing, a photograph or a vivid description" (Parrot 9). Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, objects torn from their cultural surroundings had found new contexts: museums and modernism.

The museum occupies a peculiar position in modernism. In a recent article, Daniel Bell observes that one "can date

[the modern] with the rise of the museum, where cultural artifacts are wrenched from their traditional places and displayed in a new context of syncretism" (122). Nineteenth-century exhibitions had displayed artifacts within scaled reconstructions of traditional places.[1] Fin de siecle museums, on the other hand, displayed them alongside other artifacts, creating a modern syntax Bell describes as the "eclipse of distance" (123). Thus, as the forum for displaying the past shifted from exhibitions to museums, cultural perceptions of the material image shifted from reconstructed whole to fragmented parts, from representation to a syncretic presentation of stylistic sources.[2] Although the museum provided an immediate and practical context for displaced artifacts, its visual displays of the past presented modern culture with the paradox of construing the past without reference to a traditional context; indeed, out of context.[3] The museum itself altered the visual perception of the past with its displays of artifacts isolated in showcases or syntactically juxtaposed with other artifacts. Certainly museum galleries, catalogues, and guides provided interpretative contexts for displaced artifacts, but artifacts visually contextualized by other artifacts contributed to a syncretic perception of the past. As a "new context of syncretism," the British Museum is worth examining as a particular site where modernist perceptions of a displaced past are

materially presented. Not only is it the birthsite of Imagism, but also a site where other modernist perceptions of the archaeological past begin to emerge.

In 1880, the British Museum was largely a storehouse for cultural properties. For lack of space, many of the Egyptian and Assyrian properties acquired earlier in the century had been stored in the basement--uncatalogued, undisplayed, uninterpreted. Fortunately, Northern Gallery space opened up between 1880 and 1883 when the Natural History Collections were removed to South Kensington (Budge, By Nile and Tigris I: 68). The Egyptian and Assyrian Department, headed at the time by Samuel Birch, rushed to fill the vacuum. Subsequently, Budge observes, the Egyptian collections were

> brought up from the ground floor and basement [in] large cases which contained the Egyptian papyri, and various collections of unexhibited Assyrian antiquities. These changes were warmly welcomed by Birch, who, for the first time, was able to exhibit the smaller Egyptian antiquities, and could now work at the papyri with more facility and convenience than he had ever enjoyed. (Budge, By Nile and Tigris I: 69)

By 1885, the British Museum was moving away from storehousing cultural properties toward cataloguing and displaying them for public review.

By the turn of the century, the scholarly work of deciphering Egyptian papyri and Assyrian cuneiform tablets was also well in hand. Budge, Curator of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department from 1893-1924, published Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics in 1899 and a translation of the

Book of the Dead in 1901--books H.D. probably purchased just after her arrival in London in 1911.[4] But the interpretation of middle-Eastern artifacts was not limited to specialists like Budge. The British Museum was trying to recreate the museum as a center of education where the public and scholars alike might join in the task of piecing together and interpreting the archaeological past. To this end, the museum Reading Room was renovated in 1907. This circular room, "covered by a large dome of glass and iron," could accommodate 458 readers seated at "tables, which radiate[d] from the centre of the room like spokes of a wheel" (Baedeker, London and Its Environs ([1911] 357-58).

Innovation followed renovation, and in 1911 the system of Museum Guides was imported from America--likely modeled on Sara York Stevenson's successful experiment at the Free Museum in Philadelphia. The British Museum could now bill itself as an educational center replete with an "excellent general 'Guide to the Exhibition Galleries' . . . as well as various special guides and catalogues" available from attendants (Baedeker, London and Its Environs ([1911] 329). In a lecture delivered before London school teachers in 1913, Lord Sudeley observed that due to the changes effected at the British Museum, the number of visitors had increased by nearly 250,000 since 1911, the year H.D. arrived in London with Frances Gregg.

> Surely this enormous increase must be principally due to the interest and pleasure which the Guide system has

> created in this great Museum, in the opening up of its vast treasures. . . .
>
> Anyone visiting the Museum now and remembering what it was two or three years ago, will at once observe that it is now a hive of industry showing that large additional numbers of people are interested and are examining the various exhibits. (qtd. in Browne 213).

By 1913, archaeology was no longer the preserve of archaeologists digging, dating, and preserving artifacts in the field or museum specialists cataloguing, labeling, and deciphering treasures brought up from the museum basement. As early as 1903, British archaeologist Flinders Petrie had acknowledged that archaeology needed to "find shelter with the Fine Arts or with History," for "no real home [had] been provided for its real growth" (Petrie 1). Since museums were the principal "homes" for archaeological treasures, it was to the museums that some modern historians and artists repaired to begin their various approaches to interpreting the past. Futurist Marinetti, however, was not among them. He considered museums mausoleums, "cemeteries of empty exertion, calvaries of crucified dreams," and "registries of aborted beginnings" (qtd. in Bell 126). Equally guarded in his appraisal of museums Pound wrote that

> There are many fine things discovered, edited, and buried. They are dumped in one museum and certain men rejoice in the treasure. They also complain of a lack of public interest in their operations. (New Age 10: 130)

Yet Lord Sudeley's description of the British Museum in 1913 suggests that the British Museum, at least, served as a "hive of industry" within which some modern artists were

busily being revived by and so reviving the elan vital[5] of ancient civilizations.

Among the artistic "visitors" interested in making use of the renovated Reading Room and examining the catalogued treasures on display were H.D., Richard Aldington--and Ezra Pound. It was in the refreshment room opposite the Reading Room "hive"[6] and adjacent to the Egyptian Central Saloon that Pound declared H.D.'s "Hermes of the Ways" an Imagist poem in 1912. H.D. recalls the museum context of that meeting in an oft-quoted passage from End to Torment:

> Meeting with [Pound] alone or with others at the Museum tea room. We all read in the British Museum reading room. Dark walls and statues that looked dingy. . . . "But Dryad," (in the Museum tea room), "this is poetry." He slashed with a pencil. "Cut this out, shorten this line. 'Hermes of the Ways' is a good title. I'll send this to Harriet Monroe of Poetry. Have you a copy? Yes? Then we can send this, or I'll type it when I get back. Will this do?" And he scrawled "H.D. Imagiste" at the bottom of the page. (ET 18)

H.D.'s critics usually focus here on Pound's editorial parsing--first of H.D.'s name, then of her poem. Of equal importance, however, are the intertextual frames within which H.D.'s record of the birth of Imagism may be read. In the setting of the British Museum tea room, the materialization of the past sets up what Stephen Bann calls a "sequence of gazes" (107) whose frames form a collage and whose intertextual matrix alludes to, interacts with, and so is modified by what is beyond each self-contained frame (Steiner 60, 62). First, Pound's minimalist slashing

provided H.D. with an aesthetic frame for her reperception of the past--initially the Hellenist past. But the birth of Imagism here is not the only frame for her experience in the Museum tea room. The germ of "Hermes of the Ways" which H.D. translated from Mackail's Greek Anthology provides a classical intertextual frame and the Egyptian statues overseeing the event, the archaeological frame. If any general principle may be inferred from H.D.'s description of the Museum tea room, it is that Mackail's Greek epigrams and the mute statues of Egypt dispossessed of their own cultural past are syncretically present in H.D.'s account the birth of Imagism. They are "translated" by H.D.'s re-membrance and become the elan vital which transmutes the archaeological into the artistry of H.D.'s moment, makes the objects housed in the British Museum the subject of her poetry, and fuses the dingy past of Greece and of Egypt with her own present.[7]

In "A Rather Dull Introduction" to his series I Gather the Limbs of Osiris (New Age 10 [Dec 1911]: 130-31), Pound voiced his artistic concern over historical methods that "divorced interest in the past from . . . life in the present" (Longenbach 49).[8] The apparent contradiction between the "archaeological" and the "artistic" announced by Pound in The Spirit of Romance (1910) and developed in I Gather the Limbs of Osiris (1911-12) introduced a tension between an archaeological reconstruction of sequential

history and an ahistorical literary reperception which construed the past as contemporaneous with the present.[9] For Pound, an archaeological dating of the past violated the spirit of the past he characterized as the elan vital, the luminous detail harnessed in ancient languages (and artifacts) and unleashed by artistic (rather than philological or archaeological) translation (SR 7-8).

Modern consciousness was structured and defined by issues of archaeological disruption and historical relativism current with modernist restructurings of language and perception. If we are to understand the shared interests of archaeology and modernism in reinterpolating the past in the present, a definition of the "archaeological" broader than Pound's historical and philological one is necessary.

In an article entitled "Archaeology as Anthropology" (1971), Lewis Binford seeks to update an historical misconception of archaeology dating from Petrie's attempts to legitimize it as a science. "For many people," he says,

> the most obvious attraction of archaeology is the excitement of discovering--unearthing the lost treasures of the past. . . . But that is only the beginning. . . For the task is not simply a matter of "piecing together the past"--as if the bits and pieces, the material data, could be fitted together in some painless way to make a coherent picture, as soon as they are dug up. (Deetz 262)

Although Binford acknowledges the "romance" inspired by nineteenth-century archaeologists in the field, he moves beyond the misconception that the archaeologist's task is a

simple matter of puzzling bits of the past into a "coherent picture" of ancient civilization. Rather, like an anthropologist, the archaeologist must interpret material data in terms of their likely social function and spiritual value for a once living culture. And like an artist, Binford implies, the archaeologist must imagine the soul of a culture revived and reconstructed from a few material fragments.

Archaeology undergirds modernist perceptions of the past. It is from such imagination-based definitions as Petrie's and Binford's that turn-of-the-century archaeology can be viewed as both an historical situation and an aesthetic condition which ripened iconoclastic modernist tendencies to break with representational conventions of art and to reconstitute ancient fragments into new shapes, forms, and styles. In this view, it is important to appreciate the dual function of archaeology: on the one hand, it exhumed the past within modern contexts, and on the other, it aimed to reconstruct ancient contexts. The contextual tension which resulted between past and present, ancient and modern, created a modernist climate in which a fertile exchange between the archaeological and the artistic became possible.

The ancient was once real and came to the modernists in ruins; the modern perception of the ancient world was fragmented and needed spiritual intuition to reperceive the

soul of the past as real. But the past as a story of "real events," as my discussion of nineteenth-century archaeology and historiography make clear, could not be recovered as an intact body of information. From a scholarly point of view, the historical past could only be recovered through multiple reconstructions based on material evidence. This same material evidence, syncretically displayed in museums, presented artists like H.D. with the challenge of approaching the past not historically, but imaginatively. For them, reconstructing the inner (rather than outer and chronological) life of the past involved reperception, an intuitive method of repositioning and reframing ancient artifacts with a view to presenting the soul of the past. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, a renowned classicist whom H.D. read with enough care to quote him accurately in her notes on Euripides, offers spiritual insight into the modernist need to retrieve the soul of the past through imaginative reperception rather than scholarly tradition. "The tradition yields us only ruins," he says.

> The more closely we test and examine them, the more clearly we see how ruinous they are; and out of ruins no whole can be built. The tradition is dead; our task is to revivify life that has passed away. We know that ghosts cannot speak until they have drunk blood; and the spirits which we evoke demand the blood of our hearts. ("On Greek Historical Writing," Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects, 1905-1920 25)

T.S. Eliot's Fisher King in The Waste Land aptly describes the artistic relationship to the archaeological: "These fragments I have shored against my ruins" (1.431). Eliot's

syncretic juxtapositions of literary fragments exemplifies two modernist assumptions: 1) perceptions of the past could no longer be organized into a single chronology and 2) the life of the past could only be accessed by reperceiving the spiritual content of its fragments.

In order to understand the archaeological foundations on which a modern "context of syncretism" rests, this chapter explores how Classicism and Imagism functioned to recontextualize, and thus to reframe a traditional perception of the past fragmented by nineteenth-century archaeological excavations and historiography. Chapter One raised the issue of representational perceptions of these cultural properties. The Napoleonic sweep through the tombs of Egypt had inaugurated a nineteenth-century archaeological practice of violating sacred space. Consequently, reconstructing the soul of the ancient past became, for the moderns, a matter of reperceiving the sacred in spatial forms. In the early decades of the twentieth century, excavated cultures had to be reinscribed, their spiritual geometries preserved and coded into new scholarly, verbal, and visual presentations. Freud and the classicists searched for mythic and ritualistic patterns underlying psychic experience and ancient literary form. At the same time, modern artists were beginning to develop new ways of looking at the world's old things.

By reconsidering the joint role of archaeology and museums in restructuring modernist perceptions of the material image, this chapter raises the issue of their syncretic reperception sans traditional or representational contexts. Classicism and Imagism appropriated archaeological materials in piecing together the past--not to make it whole, but to revive its soul. By positioning H.D.'s work within a context of classicism and among fragmented images from the past, this chapter aims to excavate the archaeological underpinnings of her work. For it was through archaeology that H.D. sought to awaken spirits dormant in exhumed images from the past. And it was through the lens of modern reperception that she was able to make the past present, having learned from her reading of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that the "history of the past can be understood by no man [or woman] who cannot transport himself into the souls of men passed away" (Oxford Lectures 19). "Ghosts to speak," H.D. knew, "must have sacrifice" (NEPG II:6).

"It was a time of isms."
H.D., Bid Me to Live

Classicism

At roughly the same time that Pound sailed for Europe, London was experiencing a classical revival. "This had all begun around 1907," writes H.D.'s biographer, Barbara Guest,

> and there is the question whether Pound with his genius for the modern had not scented this in the air of London and transported this Greekness back to Philadelphia. Hilda's earlier attempts at classical verse may have originated from this. The classics were no longer considered an agony to be endured for a university degree, but were actually found to be readable and applicable to the contemporary world. (33)

It is of course ridiculous to suppose Pound responsible for transporting "this Greekness back to Philadelphia." When H.D. arrived in London with Frances Gregg in 1911, she was greeted by a classical revival in popular fashion and classically allusive conversation usually confined to Cambridge and Oxford. The Hellenistic mode was definitely _in_ 1911. Because H.D.'s sculpted features seemed the concrete expression of her classical turns of mind, H.D. herself seemed _in_ pre-War London, according to Barbara Guest.

> _Greekness_ was everywhere. People, not only those just down from university, were quoting Samuel Butcher and Andrew Lang's Homer. Sculpture by contemporaries was made with Greek curls. Sandaled or bare feet marked a complete break from buttoned boots. Gone were the curves and boned collars. Fashion switched to Poiret of France and Fortuny of Venice. Fortuny dresses were cut straight from the shoulder to flow unimpeded, with just a hint of chiton. Poiret, the new French dressmaker everyone took up, introduced dresses cut to resemble the maidens on Greek vases, a loose overblouse falling over a long skirt. Hair was also loosely knotted and worn with a band across the forehead a la greque. The body should be long, lean and willowy--very Hildaish. (33)

The signs of a classical revival in sartorial matters, sculpture, and conversation, were unmistakable; the question remains how the classics could be considered "applicable to

the contemporary world."[10] It is a question best framed by the Cambridge scholars responsible for the renaissance in classical studies at the turn of the century.

Cultural and intellectual reinforcement for H.D.'s interest in the world of the Greeks came at a peak time in the revival of the classics--around 1912--with the second printing of Frazer's twelve-volume The Golden Bough. Because it was such a popular seminal work which knit together what Frazer perceived to be the related paradigms of myth, history, and science, The Golden Bough "expanded the mythological interests of the age" in a way that touched nearly every scholarly discipline: anthropology, archaeology, art, classics, history, literature, philosophy, psychology, religion, science, and sociology (Vickery 36, 69). Frazer's own journey back to origins had created a port for the past in the present: "Our long voyage of discovery is over," he significantly concluded his twelve-volume study, "and our bark has drooped her weary sails in port at last" (GB 827).

The first publication of The Golden Bough in 1890 had created a sensation among classical scholars at Cambridge--Jane Harrison, Gilbert Murray, and Francis M. Cornford (Vickery 89). Frazer's anthropological research into the origins of primitive religion, ritual, and myth provided classical scholars a wealth of primary materials from which to draw in formulating premises for their studies of

classical religious and literary forms. Frazer's empirical approach to the evolution of social constructs and religious consciousness did more than open study of the classics to other than literary scholarship: he created a model whereby the literary and visual arts could be effectively combined with the scientific method. Vickery argues that Frazer's attention to details and mythological structures of human experience contributed to a modernist "passion for the resonant concreteness of the observed object" (Vickery 36). Frazer's study of systems of belief, rooted in ritualistic behavior, led to literary movements that gave primacy to concrete detail and human behavior: imagism, realism, naturalism, and all varieties of modernism (Vickery 37). The Golden Bough modelled a scientific methodology and provided a framework for perception typified by modern literature: "To render the detail, to make the part do duty for the whole, to deny the narrative pattern with its endorsement of unidirectional time by dislocation of temporal sequence, [and] to seek composite versions of selfhood in the fragments of the past" (Vickery 37).

Jane Harrison, a classical scholar in anthropology and archaeology at Cambridge in 1900, recalls in her Reminiscences of a Student's Life the impact Frazer's book had on Hellenist studies during the 1890's:

> We Hellenists were in truth at that time a people that sat in darkness, but we were soon to see a great light, two great lights, archaeology and anthropology. The classics were turning in their long sleep: old men

> began to see visions and young men to dream dreams. I had just left Cambridge when Schliemann began to dig at Troy. Among my own contemporaries was J.G. Frazer who was soon to light the dark wood of savage superstition with a gleam from The Golden Bough. . . . at the mere sound of the magical words "Golden Bough" the scales fell--we heard and understood. Then Arthur Evans set sail for his new Atlantis and telegraphed news of the Minotaur from his own Labyrinth: perforce we saw this was a serious matter: it affected "the Homeric Question." (qtd. in Stewart 2)

Frazer had steered classical scholarship into a period of intense analysis of ancient texts which aimed to expose and to explain their encoded systems of religion, ritual, and myth. During the next decade and a half, Harrison, Cornford, and Gilbert Murray "produced between them an astonishing corpus of 'Greek Books'" whose controlling ideas, drawn from The Golden Bough, deepened modern understanding of the complex interrelation of ancient Greek social, religious, and literary practices (Stewart 83).

At the turn of the century, Jane Harrison was a leading proponent of the classical revival. Works such as Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature (1882), Introductory Studies in Greek Art (1885), Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens (1890), and Greek Vase Paintings (1896) reveal her investment in archaeology and anthropology (Peacock 55). Like Frazer, she was engaged in a quest for the origins of myth in ritual; unlike him, she rooted the religious impulse of ritual and magic in the irrational rather than in science (Peacock 81, 2-3). For Frazer, the methods of science and magic were analogous: both focused

on an empirical set of activities--an experiment or a ritual--intended to produce a practical result (Frazer 13). Frazer's focus on the external form of ritual, however, denied the more complex internal state of mind at the center of ritual experience. For Harrison, on the other hand, the internal state of mind was integral to ritual. Her later belief that "ritual emerges from group projection and precedes both mythology and religion" came from her early understanding of "intuition's part in creating a picture of ancient Greece" (Peacock 76, emphasis mine). Religion, taking its shape from ancient enactments of tribal magic, rationalized the irrational but did not explain the emotional component at the heart of mystical experience. In Harrison's view, "magic, sacrament and sacrifice are fundamentally all one."[11] All involved "the handling of the sacred, the manipulation of mana," an invisible power or force within visible objects or persons which could be transferred from object to object, object to person, or person to object. The ritualistic "handling of the sacred" mediated the transference of this power, described as the irrational, emotional component of ritual.

In 1900, Harrison accepted a post as "director of the archaeological studies in the rather new Part II of the Classical Tripos" at Cambridge while "Sir James Frazer was engaged on Pausanias, and a new Golden Bough" (Stewart 13). Thereafter, until World War I "shattered much of academic

tradition . . . and drove me . . . to fly from Greece and seek sanctuary in other languages and civilisations" (Themis ix), Harrison's interest in archaeology fused with anthropology and classical literature. According to Vickery,

> In the Prolegomena [1903] and Themis [1912] she continually interprets religious rites and literary passages in the light of a series of statues and paintings. Her approach is almost invariably visual, concentrating on the actual physical image as a means of focussing both her thoughts and emotions. Such a method possesses obviously suggestive analogies . . . to the point of view of imagism, especially its classically oriented members like H.D. . . . (Vickery 90, n. 58)

Although there exists no evidence that H.D. was directly familiar with or influenced by Harrison's work,[12] H.D. does admit, in a letter to Thomas Swann, that she was familiar with "Gilbert Murray's prose rather than his poetry" (qtd. in Swann 10). His analysis of ancient Greek literature incorporated many of the views on myth and ritual advanced by Frazer's The Golden Bough. His prose, "written for more popular audiences," exposed H.D. to a ritualistic view of Greek social and religious practices more characteristic of Harrison's intuitive view of magic and sacrifice than Frazer's scientific view. Murray's study of the ritual patterns prevalent in Greek drama, developed at length in his "Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy" in Jane Harrison's Themis (1912), not only increased circulation of Frazer's ideas among classicists, but also popularized them in accessible prose (Vickery

89-90).

Though in a letter to Thomas Swann H.D. claimed that "I have always felt that [my Hellenism] was not so much a question of 'intellectual currents' as of 'temperamental affinities,'" it would appear to be a humble claim which the contexts of London's intellectual climate belied (qtd. in Swann 12). Familiar with Frazer's six-volume translation of Pausanius' Description of Greece (1898), H.D. gives Frazer only passing reference in her commentary on Pausanius, a second century (A.D.) Greek traveller and art historian: "I have had access to Dr. Frasier's [sic] magnificent work [on Pausanius]," she writes, "but have only leafed it over and seen the impossibility of every coping with it" (NEPG II: 4a). Of Frazer's The Golden Bough, her reference is even more scant, the only allusion to it coming as prelude to a session with Freud in 1933. "I started to hold forth on Frazer and The Golden Bough," she writes in Advent. "The Professor waved me to the couch," thus ending any further talk of Frazer, apparently, yet leading to talk of the period of H.D.'s life prior to and during her first trip to Greece in 1920 (TF 182). Thus, while her later archaeological knowledge of temples and monuments in Greece derived from "a somewhat old-fashioned Bohn edition [of Pausanias' Description of Greece], adequately translated by A.R. Shilleto," her earlier knowledge of magic, myth, ritual, and the theme of the dying god probably derived in

large part from her reading of Gilbert Murray's prose (NEPG II: 4a; Swann 10).

Murray's views on Euripides in particular, and Greek literature in general, clearly center H.D.'s commentaries in Notes on Euripides . . . and Greek Lyric Poets. Evidence of his influence on the formation of her Hellenist thought, moreover, clearly accounts for the religious temperament and attention to ritual which distinguishes H.D.'s literary practice from that of other Imagists, extending it beyond the purely formal and visual requirements of Pound's Imagist program. The list of holdings in H.D.'s personal library at the Bienecke Library suggests H.D.'s heavily pencilled book-knowledge of Gilbert Murray's Five Stages of Greek Religion (1914). If one may use her pencil-markings as an index to Greek religious principles which underlie even her earliest imagist poems, then Murray's notion that "religion essentially deals with the uncharted region of human experience" and that humankind "must have some relation towards the uncharted, the mysterious, tracts of life" informs the direction of H.D.'s intellectual predilections and defines the mystical quality of sacrifice and ritual at the heart of Sea Garden and The God (Murray, Five Stages 19, 22).

Evidence in Notes on Euripides and Pausanius more surely locates her absorption of Murray's views on Greek religion and the function of Greek literary practice in his

translation of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Greek Historical Writing (1908) and Murray's own The Interpretation of Ancient Greek Literature (1909) and Euripides and His Age (1913). It was probably from Murray's prose study of Euripides and His Age that H.D. gleaned her ideas concerning the ritualistic and sacrificial nature of Greek drama. In his study, Murray abbreviates the six stages of ritual (more fully developed in Harrison's Themis):

> (1) an Agon or Contest . . ; (2) a Pathos, or disaster . . .; (3) a Messenger, who brings the news; (4) a Lamentation, very often mixed with a Song of Rejoicing . . .; (5) the Discovery or Recognition of the hidden or dismembered god; and (6) his Epiphany or Resurrection in glory. (63; Harrison 343)

It is no small matter that the form and content of H.D.'s translations of Euripides' Iphigeneia in Aulis and Hippolytus seem carefully modelled on Murray's six stages of ritual (CP 71-93). What she apparently aimed to capture by her "errors and even occasional omissions of difficult passages" (for which T.S. Eliot nonetheless complimented her) was a classical attitude towards rites of tendance and worship which places the altar and sacrificial victim at the center of dramatic action, and which occasions, in both H.D.'s translations, the epiphany or Artemis (Sacred Wood 69; CP 83-84, 92-93).[13] By stripping Euripidean drama to its essential action--sacrifice--H.D.'s translations reveal her interest in the concrete enactments of abstract ideas, and her recognition that literary forms are vehicles for spiritual content.

In her Notes on Euripides (1916-20), in fact, H.D. stresses how much Euripidean tragedy is centered in ancient rites of the dying god, for only by physical sacrifice is "the kingdom [of heaven] within you" revealed, and the epiphany or resurrection effected (NEPG I: 8). Sacrifice, in short, is that act which mediates the physical and spiritual worlds, that gesture through which exchange of knowledge between the temporal and eternal layers of consciousness is transacted. According to Gilbert Murray, understanding Greek drama requires an act of faith, a remembrance "that it is at heart a religious ritual" (Age of Euripides 200). And for H.D., the religious component, as she knew, was not limited to Greek myth, but was a regular feature in Egyptian and Cretan myth as well. The necessity of the dying god and the promise of the spiritual resurrection, she writes, "lives in the name of Thetis, of Eos, of Iris, of Memnon, of Patroclos, of Hyacinth. There is no beginning, no end to light that rises, that is slain like Osiris going to his death to be brought back to life again by the love of Isis, the Egyptian Madonna" (NEPG I:8).

Significantly, it is at the end of her commentary on Pausanius, at the end of her sifting through "layers and layers of . . . dusty sentences" that H.D. discovers Pausanius' archaeological description of antiquities to be "a sort of silver mirror" in which "gleam phantoms and treasures of colour and of magic" (NEPG II:5). Interpreting

such treasures was both the legacy of archaeology and the burden of an age of modern scholarship into which she was born. The very temples, tombs, jars, vases, amulets, and signets unearthed by nineteenth-century archaeologists were but mute things from an ancient past whose language could be accessed only through a spiritual intelligence such as H.D.'s.

The vehicle of transport to the soul of the ancient past, according to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, was through the "free play" of the imagination on "Dryasdust" volumes such as Pausanius' Description of Greece (Oxford Lectures 25). Imagination, then, not received tradition, revived the past, and fragments of the past unearthed by archaeologists required imagination to make them live. It was to be in ruins and fragments--archaeological and literary--that H.D.'s intellectual classicism would intersect with her image-centered literary practice, and that her imaginative free play would thus revivify the ruins of the ancient past.

The impact of Frazer's The Golden Bough, however, was not limited to classical scholarship. Sigmund Freud, whose work H.D. studied in 1932, prior to her analysis with him, was also influenced by Frazer's views on the mythological understructure of culture (TF vii). It was upon Frazer's palimpsestic view of culture that Freud modelled his own conception of the conscious and unconscious layers of the psyche (Vickery 94). In his analysis of the "latent"

content of dreams, for example, Freud recognized the archaeological character of the mind, "how multiple the unconscious was, how layered it was with several selves" (Karl 71). Fragments of the self, buried within the mind, once exhumed and analyzed, shed light on the possibility of reconstructing the whole psyche. By comparing the remembered and forgotten fragments of the individual with that of civilization, Freud's extended metaphor of an excavated city in Rome in Civilization and its Discontents (1930) makes explicit the parallels which existed between his psychoanalytic methods of restoring memory to the individual and archaeological methods of reconstructing the ancient past for modern civilization. For Freud, the "memory-traces" of the individual's past could be "excavated and brought to light," their sites located and their wholes traced out from fragments (Freud, "Civilization" 17-18).

According to H.D., it was Freud who first opened "the hieroglyph of the unconscious" to study, Freud who "started to decipher or decode the vast accumulation of the material of the unconscious mind" (TF 93, 175). Though it was not until her sessions with Freud in 1933 that H.D. began excavating, deciphering, and tracing out the wholes of her own storehouse of childhood memories, she does indicate their archaeological reference to the excavated artifacts of ancient civilization. Without reference to "other broken bits" unearthed by archaeology, memory-traces of her

childhood were like "priceless broken fragments that [were] meaningless" (TF 35). Only by matching the fragments of her life with the fragments of ancient civilization, only by aligning her memory-traces with the memory-traces of culture, could either be "brought to life again" (G 4). Her memories, moreover, were every bit as "real in their dimension of length, breadth, thickness, as any of the bronze or marble or pottery or clay objects that filled the cases around the walls" of Freud's museum-like room in 1933 (TF 35).

The congruence between psyche and object suggested in H.D.'s (and Freud's) archaeological perception of memory in the early 1930s contains traces of her earlier congruence between language and object, the "artistic" and the "archaeological." It is necessary, therefore, to locate H.D.'s artistic affinity with archaeology within the Imagist context. In a letter to Harriet Monroe dated October 13, 1912, Pound said of his The Spirit of Romance that "this work will help to break the surface of convention and that the raw matter, and analysis of primitive systems may be of use in building the new art of metrics and of words" (Letters 8:11). It is worth noting that the "raw matter" both of Frazer's primitive anthropological systems and Pound's "primitive"[14] literary ones should coincide at roughly the same time. Vickery notes in The Literary Impact of 'The Golden Bough' that the "Friday Literary Review, a

weekly supplement of the Chicago Evening Post. . . . printed an essay on The Golden Bough about the same time that Ezra Pound was urging equally new and startling matter on Harriet Monroe and Poetry magazine" (75).

Like Frazer, Harrison, and Freud, Pound and H.D. believed that myth is the concrete ritualization of abstract psychic experiences. Moreover, Pound viewed the poet as translator of "our kinship to the vital universe, to the tree and the living rock" (SR 92). Although the anthropological and archaeological bases of the classical revival were downplayed by Pound and Eliot in the pages of Poetry and The Egoist magazines, they nonetheless saw the need to bridge the gap between the past and the present through new methods of scholarship. For Pound, the study of literature required a method of scholarship defined not by "the archaeological or 'scholarly' mind" devoted to scientific reconstructions of the past with no reference to the present (Stewart 83; Vickery 89), but by translation of the vital spirit of past literature that could be captured, refreshed, and revived in modern language (SR 8).

Imagism

Concurrent with the Classical revival was the development of Imagism, to which H.D. contributed a significant number of poems with undeniable classical content. The directness of presentation, the paring of language to the precise word, and the "hardness, as of cut

stone" which Richard Aldington defined as the style of Imagism were particularly evident in H.D.'s early poetry (The Egoist 1.11: 202). Though at times Pound's parings and cuttings of her poems left them, in F.S. Flint's view, too cut, too pared, "with a consequent slight feeling, in the result, of bareness," it was not from a dearth of feeling that H.D. produced her lapidary effects. Rather, her objective methods for eclipsing the emotional distance between the classical past and the modern present fulfilled T.E. Hulme's prophecy in "Romanticism and Classicism" (1912) that "a period of dry, hard, classical verse is coming" which would make "accurate description . . . a legitimate object of verse" (Speculations 133).[15]

Perhaps the most striking feature of Imagism is its "objective" presentation of images and its preoccupation with form. In a letter dated October 1912 to Harriet Monroe of Poetry magazine, Pound described H.D.'s first Imagist poems, carefully delineating for Monroe the new form in which old subjects would be cast:[16]

> I've had luck again, and am sending you some modern stuff by an American, I say modern, for it is in the laconic speech of the Imagistes, even if the subject is classic. At least H.D. has lived with these things since childhood, and knew them before she had any book-knowledge of them.
>
> This is the sort of American stuff that I can show here and in Paris without its being ridiculed. Objective--no slither; direct--no excessive use of adjectives, no metaphors that won't permit examination. It's straight talk, straight as the Greek! And it was only by persistence that I got to see it at all. (Letters 7:11)

H.D.'s "Hermes of the Ways," "Priapus [Orchard]," and "Epigram" all appeared in the January 1913 issue of Poetry, but Pound's emphasis on the objective presentation of the "new form" of poetry was a bit misleading both for the critics and for the practitioners of Imagism. In End to Torment, H.D. refers to such "imagery" as a kind of "rigor mortis" reaction to Pound's editorial parsing of her work, later making it difficult for her to escape the fixity of the Imagist tag (ET 3). In apologia fashion, she objected to a tendency among critics to "speak of 'verse so chiselled as to seem lapidary,' and they say 'She crystallizes--that is the right word'" (ET 3). Her point was that the critics had missed the point--that direct presentation of the image, uncluttered by what Pound called "emotional slither," should produce not a distancing between image and viewer, but rather an "eclipse of distance" that enabled the viewer, in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's view, to "transport" him/herself "into the souls of men passed away."

Through the accurate and direct presentation of images, elaborated in "A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste" (Poetry [1913] 1:6), Pound sought to free the new poetry from the burden of conventional, traditional, and historical contexts created by past poets, classical scholars, and archaeologists. With specific regard to past literatures, his critical methods involved the translation only of those images that would have been powerful enough to inspire ancient texts, and then

of their direct presentation that could eclipse the distance between ancient images and modern viewers/readers. Later commending Pound for his critical insistence that the "work of scholarship and literature should be distinct"--meaning scholarship reconstructed the past from data, literature from the imagination--Eliot went on to add that in Pound's artistic methods, "No one could be farther from the archaeologist interest" (The Egoist 5:10: 131). Yet although the ahistorical methods of Imagism may be distinguished from the historical methods of classical scholarship and archaeological reconstruction, it is finally a distinction, not a departure. In this sense, Imagism's methods of reconstructing past forms through reperception are largely analogous to classicism and archaeology. Like the classicists and the archaeologists, the backward-looking Imagists were interested in restructuring perceptions of the past through their focus on form.

H.D.'s first published poem, "Hermes of the Ways," is a case in point which brings together the domains of archaeology, classicism, and the beginnings of Imagism. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the British Museum context for this poem is a site causally related to a more general modern perception of fragmentation. Pound's editorial parsing of "Hermes of the Ways" reveals an image set in syncretic relation to the viewer analogous to the museum's syncretic juxtaposition of relations between

artifacts and viewers. H.D.'s poem, translated from Mackail's Greek Anthology, foregrounds one central image: a "herm" or marker which figures the head of Hermes on the top of a post, stationary in an orchard, "facing three ways,/ welcoming wayfarers" (CP 38). In translating this ancient image into the present moment, H.D. strains against her classical source, eclipsing time, distance, and context through her direct presentation of that image to the reader. Thus, although this archaeological artifact, culled from the pages of a classical source-book, remains largely "framed" by its museum, archaeological, and classical contexts, it is a fragment simultaneously reframed by a new aesthetic. Unmediated by context, unframed by the past, the image, according to the Imagists, reconstructs its own context through which its spiritual content may be reperceived by the reader placed in direct and immediate relation to it. John T. Gage, in his In the Arresting Eye, identifies this relation between object and viewer/reader as an Imagist "fallacy of reciprocity" which presumes that "having associated an emotion with the sensible object, one is able to communicate that emotion by means of the words which describe the object." Gage locates the sacred impulses of this Imagist fallacy in the poets themselves, noting that "our perception of feelings are not a function of the objects, which only seem to cause them, but a function of

our own state of receptivity," which may or may not be what the poet intended.

Despite Gage's critical objections, H.D.'s objective focus on and translation of the image of Hermes of the Ways positions the reader as mediator of its subjective content. Situated beneath a juniper tree, this head of Hermes, facing three ways, both exemplifies the aspect of dubiousness and reveals the "dubious" nature of choice which confronts and arrests the journey of the wayfarer. H.D. translates the lapidary qualities of Hermes of the Ways into the suspended animation of "facing," "welcoming," and "waiting" for the wayfarer to stop and rest at its triple crossroad--all grammatically indicated by the elongated present of the participle "-ing." Because the image mirrors the experience of the reader who waits in the act of reading the poem, it is the reader who intuits the dormant, subjective content of the objectively presented image and who in turn "revivifies" the spiritual value of Hermes of the Ways in the present moment.

The subjective intention of H.D.'s "lapidary" practice of Imagism, however, contrasts with the poetry of another classically oriented member of the Imagist movement, Richard Aldington. In "H.D. and the Origins of Imagism," Cyrena Pondrom notes that Aldington's "To a Greek Marble," published as an Imagist poem in Poetry (1:2 [Nov 1912]), "is

a direct invocation of a statue of a Greek goddess, undoubtedly like those among the marbles in the British Museum where Aldington, H.D., and Pound spent so much time in these years" (81-82):

> I have whispered thee in my solitudes
> Of our loves in Phrygia,
> The far ecstasy of burning noons
> When the fragile pipes
> Ceased in the cypress shade,
> And the brown fingers of the shepherd
> Moved over slim shoulders . . .

Pondrom's critique of Aldington's poem is that his attention strays from focus on the image, that the poem itself oscillates between the abstract and the concrete and renders its effects "imprecise." Most importantly, he doesn't really let the statue speak its own story (83), which is the rationale behind Pound's emphasis on direct presentation and H.D.'s practice of it. "The Image," May Sinclair wrote of H.D.'s poetry in 1927, "is Form. But it is not pure form. It is form and substance" (Fortnightly Review 121: 329).

The philosophical basis for the Imagist conjunction of form and substance, object and subject, matter and spirit, derives from T.E. Hulme's appropriation of Henri Bergson's theory of the image and Ezra Pound's later endorsement of the new sculpture. According to Noel Stock, "Pound attended a series of lectures on Bergson given by T.E. Hulme in November and December, 1911, which probably included 'Bergson's Theory of Art' and 'The Philosophy of Intensive Manifolds'" (Pondrom 91 n.35; Stock 106). These two essays,

collected and published in Hulme's Speculations (1924), provide a basis for understanding how the Imagists in particular were approaching the reconstruction of the past through reperception.[17]

In his "Introduction to Metaphysics," Bergson states that

> Anyone who has attempted any literary composition, for example, knows that when the subject has been thoroughly studied and all the notes collected, it is necessary, before one begins the work of composition itself, to make sometimes a difficult effort to place oneself at the heart of the subject. (qtd. in Hulme 189)

Bergson may just as well be describing here the activities of archaeologists Petrie and Binford, or classicists Harrison and Murray, or Imagists H.D. and Pound. For each in their respective disciplines, what may be intellectually known about the past is at first a collection of fragments--material or literary does not matter. But to reconstruct them into a revelation of spirit requires a reperception of those fragments into something whose outer form expresses its inner state. For Bergson, this involves the "creation of imagery" which can "convey over this freshness of impression" (Hulme 163); more, it depends on the artist's ability to "perceive all things in their native purity: the forms, sounds and colours of the physical world as well as the subtlest movements of the inner life" (Hulme 155).

For Hulme, philosopher of Imagism, these outer forms hold within them an inner life which may be approached

through a faculty of mind Bergson calls "intuition" (Hulme 174). The image, then, is the vehicle for intuition. If one is able "'To place [oneself] inside the object,'" then one may "feel and experience duration . . . which we have called intuition, [where one is] actually inside that stream of impulse which constitutes life" (Hulme 213). Moreover, it is through the reperceptive method of intuition (rather than intellect) that fragments seize up into a reconstructed moment in which, as Pound says, "the Image is itself the speech."

In "Imaginary Images: 'H.D.,' Modernism, and the Psychoanalysis of Seeing," Elizabeth Hirsh notes that

> 'H.D.' was no theorist--only an example of a theory, an image. . . . A naive reading practice [New Criticism] thus reinscribed as history the theory of the Modernist Image as effecting, in a timeless moment of aesthetic perception, an aedequation of seeing and knowing, appearance and reality, inside and outside. (Discontented Discourses 144)

While it is true that H.D. was no theorist, it is nonetheless also true that the effects of her own poetry invest quite heavily in the reperceptive equipment of intuition which allows seeing and knowing to coexist. Although Hirsh uses psychoanalysis to deconstruct the Bergsonian paradox of "seeing and knowing, appearance and reality, inside and outside," Hirsh's is a method opposed to intuition, "a thing absolutely unseizable by the intellect" (Hulme 179).

It is important, therefore, to understand the Imagists as involved in reconstructing rather than deconstructing the emotional life of objects, as intent on revivifying rather than dissecting further the images of life that have passed away. H.D.'s images, hard, dry, chiselled as they may seem in Sea Garden and The God, nonetheless contain seeds of the vital universe, traces of the spirits of the past who continue to inhabit the places, rocks, trees, and seas of her early poems.

As Glenn Hughes wrote in an early critical evaluation of her work, H.D.

> does not aim at the cryptic, and she seldom permits a fragment to stand alone. A handful of Greek dust may seem more precious to her than it does to most of us, but that is because in her hands it turns to something more than dust--to flowers and to flame. (Hughes 124)

A Pygmalion in her ability to charge her imagery with vital force, H.D. perhaps best characterizes her grasp of the intuitive faculty necessary to reperceive the past in "Pygmalion."

IV

> Now what is it that has come to pass?
> over my head, fire stands,
> my marbles are alert:
>
> each of the gods, perfect,
> cries out from a perfect throat:
> you are useless,
> no marble can bind me,
> no stone suggest.

V

each from his marble base
has stepped into the light
and my work is for naught.

VI

Now am I the power
that has made this fire
as of old I made the gods
start from the rocks?
am I the god?
or does this fire carve me
for its use? (CP 50)

At this moment in the poem, H.D. accomplishes an imaginative fusion of past and present through the life-enjoining force of fire. The focus on "Now" which begins both sections IV and VI, frames section V, cast in the past perfect tense, and the image we see is of stationary marble statues stepping into the present, of mute objects coming over into speech. H.D. manages this moment through intuition: a reperception of the inner lives of the marbles and a reconstruction of their inner states. The act of placing herself inside the object allows her to intuit, momentarily, the stream of life which pulsates within the object. The questions which punctuate the poem point out the conflation of "seeing and knowing, appearance and reality, inside and outside." Moreover, such conflation reveals the Bergsonian futility of ever grasping this intuitive moment with the intellect.

In ways larger than the poem itself, "Pygmalion" serves as a metaphor for the Imagist poet who, in a modern return

to the classics, quite literally heeded Jane Harrison's and Gilbert Murray's charge that "We must get back behind these gods of the artist's workshop and the romance-maker's imagination" to the spirits which inhabit the literary and material debris of the past (Murray, Five Stages 26-27). The images the new poets were sculpting in words, even the poets themselves, were useless, as H.D.'s "Pygmalion" implies, except as mediums or vehicles which could translate through time the ongoing inner life of images passed away. And this required of the poet an intuitive mode of perception which could mediate passive objects becoming speaking subjects.

Pound's "The Return" (The English Review June 1912) is another such poem which offers an extended glimpse of the past entering into the present, of external forms moving into the reconstructed revelation of internal states. Although it meets the formal requirements of Imagism, Charles Doyle notes that it anticipates Pound's movement into his more abstract theorizing in "Vorticism."

> "The Return" is usually invoked as a verbal manifestation of Vorticism (the moving or dynamic image). . . . Clearly many of [H.D.'s] early poems are sprung from a Vorticist energy rather than set in the marmoreal or crystalline quality often attributed to them. (Doyle 312)

In his essay on "Vorticism," published in The Fortnightly Review, September 1, 1914, Pound revised his earlier

conception of the Image, incorporating more explicitly his understanding of Bergson's intuitive theory of the image.[18] The Image, in Pound's revision, became a vortex, a radiant node through which emotional and intellectual complexes were constantly moving. According to Cyrena Pondrom, Pound

> sought to explain the formal function of juxtaposed images in the poem as analogous to the "planes in relation" of post-impressionist art. . . . [He stressed] the concrete and objective nature of the poetic image, even when it expressed a subjective state of mind and he turned to the geometers of the fourth dimension [to explain] . . . how the images of a poem can combine to create a concrete form which cannot be visually represented in two planes. (91)

The impetus behind Pound's turn to "the language of the geometers" may be found in an article published earlier in 1914 on "The New Sculpture" (The Egoist 1:4 [Feb 16, 1914]: 67-68). He begins his article with reference to T.E. Hulme's lecture on "Modern Art and Its Philosophy" (Hulme 75): "Some nights ago Mr. T.E. Hulme delivered to the Quest Society an almost wholly unintelligible lecture on cubism and new art at large" ("The New Sculpture" 67). What was intelligible to Pound was Hulme's distinction between "vital art and geometric art" (67). Whereas Pound had founded Imagism on the artist's ability to reperceive, intuit, reconstruct, and revivify the inner life at the heart of the image, he saw in the sculpture of Gaudier-Brzeska, for example, a fourth-dimensional grasp of the soul of the image.

Through Imagism, Pound had explored the inner/outer dimensions of "vital" images. Through cubism and the new sculpture, Pound saw the possibilities of moving beyond two- and three-dimensional "vital art" into "geometric art," where the collage-like succession of images could produce a more abstract fourth-dimension, as in his Cantos or Eliot's The Waste Land. In a poem which concluded his essay "Vortex. Pound" (Blast 1, June 20, 1914), Pound likened the new "new poetry" to the geometry of cubism and abstractionism.

> The Vorticist will use only the primary media of his art.
> The primary pigment of poetry is the IMAGE. . . .
> In painting Kandinski, Picasso.
> In poetry this ["Oread"] by, "H.D."
>
> > Whirl up sea--
> > Whirl your pointed pines,
> > Splash your great pines
> > On our rocks,
> > Hurl your green over us,
> > Cover us with your pools of fir. (qtd. in Pondrom 92)

According to Apollinaire, who was instrumental in propagandizing the cubist and abstractionist movements, "geometry is to the plastic arts what grammar is to the art of the writer" (Karl 215). Like H.D. and Pound, whose early translations of images from classical and anglo-saxon sources revitalized poetry with "signs of gods and godly attendants and oreads" (SR 92-93), the cubists and abstractionists were translating onto canvas the geometry of Egyptian and African art in order to similarly access its

spiritual content through a visual syntax of juxtaposed images, lines and colors.[19]

H.D.'s Journey Beyond Imagism

Although intellectually inclined towards ancient literary ideas, themes, and forms, H.D. viewed poets and artists as better equipped than academicians to reperceive and reconstruct the soul of the past hidden in the present moment. For her, places and things, attitudes and moods were potent vehicles for spiritual knowledge of the past. Moreover, her revival of the ancient past assumed the trajectory of pilgrimage in body and soul to some of the archaeological sites that occupied her literary imagination.

H.D.'s journey with Richard Aldington to Capri and the environs of Theocritus in 1912 concretized her intellectual and temperamental affinities with ancient Greece. "Capri," writes her biographer Barbara Guest, "was [H.D.'s] first physical brush with the classic world of the Greeks" (53). It was in Capri, H.D. wrote to Norman Holmes Pearson (1927), that she derived the "actual geographical Greece" hidden behind the pastoral backgrounds of so many of the poems in Sea Garden (1916) and The God (1913-17) (Agenda 25.3-4 (Autumn/Winter): 73). If, as Thomas Swann supposes, her classical landscapes betrayed her tendency to escape into the past (19), then it was a past made present by her superimposition of the "New England Coast, Maine and New Hampshire" of childhood memory on the "actual geographical

Greece" of her 1912 journey to Capri, "Syren isle of the Odyssey" (King 22; Agenda 73-74).

> The "lost" world of the classics and the neo-classics is the world of child-hood. . . . This, I suppose--an inner region of defence, escape, these are the poems of escapism--if there is any such word. And of memory, suppressed memory, maybe (And what about the mother of the muses? Mnemosene, if I remember.) Actual memory, repressed memory, desire to escape, desire to create (music), intellectual curiosity, a wish to make real to myself what is most real, the fragrant pages of the early Greek poets, to tear, if it be even the barest fragments of vibrant, electrical parchment from hands not always worthy to touch, to fingers whose sterile "intellectuality" is so often a sort of inverted curse of Midas--these are some of the ingredients of my poetry. Times, places, dates don't seem so much to matter. (Agenda 73-74)

The "ingredients" of her poetry distill archaeological images which coalesce past and present and which stratify personal historical memory atop mythic timeless memory. H.D.'s recipe for reperceiving culture superimposes fragments from the "'lost' world of the classics" out there on fragments in "an inner region" in her psyche. Her excavation of that inner region, corresponding to Freud's metaphor of the archaeological unconscious in Civilization and its Discontents (17-19), parallels the archaeological practice of excavation current in her culture. Hardly a poetry of escape, her Sea Garden and The God are eruptions of timeless memory, images, and landscapes cast into modern aesthetic forms, exquisite templates of psychological and archaeological correspondence. For her, such poems are "real" precisely because they derive from real landscapes, realized in Meleager's Garland of Greek epigrams she

translated from McKail's The New Greek Anthology (1911). She can realize them again precisely because "Times, places, dates don't seem so much to matter." From "the fragrant pages of the early Greek poets" she can distill acrid fragrances of a "Sea Rose," a "Sea Violet," a "Sea Lily." For her, "vibrant, electrical parchment" from the ancient past is perpetuated through memory, and is for that reason revivable.

The "repressed" memory of a poet like H.D., unaffected by the "Midas" curse of "sterile 'intellectuality'," came clear to H.D. during her 1920 trip to Greece with Bryher. Barbara Guest notes that "She was making a trip of homage, rather than an archaeological one, and her enthusiasms are entirely personal, without any scientific or historical detail" (Guest 123-24). It is difficult, however, to imagine H.D.'s journey as "entirely personal" in light of her enthusiasm for Greek history and Bryher's for archaeology (Heart to Artemis 150-51, 160). Louis Silverstein's "Selections from the H.D. Chronology" notes that H.D. and Bryher visited the Acropolis, the British School of Archaeology, the National Archaeological Museum, and a number of monuments in and around Athens ("Planting the Seeds" 5). H.D. drew inspiration from these sites, distinguishing her poetic perceptions of the past as spiritual from academic perceptions of the past as historical.

"Helios and Athene," written during her stay in Athens in 1920, articulates H.D.'s artistic relation both to the academic and to the archaeological (Morris, "Reading H.D.'s 'Helios and Athene'"). The focus of H.D.'s first section is the statue of Athena Nike in her Temple near the Acropolis, "a rocky plateau of crystalline limestone, rising precipitously to a height of about 500 ft. above the sea" (Baedecker, Greece 57). Baedecker notes the mythic history of the place.

> Here, according to the old legend related by Pausanias, King Aegeus took his stand to watch the first glimpse of the returning ship in which Theseus had sailed to Crete. Theseus unhappily forgot to hoist the white sails that were to announce his victory over the Minotaur, and his aged father, believing the black sails to be a signal of the death of his son, threw himself headlong from the rock. (Baedecker, Greece 61)

Rather than invoking history and myth in her contemplation of Athene Nike, H.D. characteristically invokes the soul of the statue. She notes that "In Athene's hand is a winged creature, a Nike,/ her own soul.// Consider the birds," she tells us. "Consider your own soul" (CP 326).

In her contemplation of Helios on the Olympic frieze of the Acropolis in section two, H.D. again uses archaeological ruins as a focus for her spiritual reperception of the soul of the past, noting that intellectual perceptions obscure a poetic reperception of the soul of the past which can only be approached by the poet initiated into its spiritual mysteries.

The mind grips the statue as the bird grips the

> rock-ledge. It would convince itself that this is its final resting place.
>
> The mind, in its effort to disregard the truth, has built up through the centuries, a mass of polyglot literature explanatory of Grecian myth and culture.

H.D.'s complaint is that scholarly explanation and historical objectivity stop "where the artist/ ceased his labour" (CP 328). In other writings, her principal targets appear to be Pausanias and Baedecker, who say nothing of the "things that make Greece, that made the Greek temperament and almost the Greek religion" (NEPG 2). Of Pausanias, H.D. writes that his descriptions stop short of noting the mystery of places and things, "'of which he is forbidden to write'" (NEPG 2). His "impersonality," moreover, "is colossal is, I must repeat, Baedekeresque" (NEPG 2).

> Who is this Pausanius, or rather what is he? Pausanius is a little recording-machine, a box into which are placed minute and exquisite little models of ancient cities, buildings, townhalls, temples, fortresses, sea-ports and gardens. He is seeing and recording, recording and seeing, noting the tiniest little clump of buildings, digging down into the sources of walls and out-lying heaps of odd stones. Temples, altars, steps and market-places, streets, treasuries . . . he is a sort of county-surveyor of travellers. (NEPG 5).

Classical scholars like Gilbert Murray had observed that dryasdust objectivity was the shortcoming of scholarship about the past. Although the academic may stop "where the artist/ ceased his labour," the poet was capable of getting "behind these gods of the artist's workshop and the romance-maker's imagination" (Murray, Five Stages 26-27). H.D. declares in "Helios and Athene" that

> the time has come for men and women of

> intelligence to build up a new standard, a new approach to Hellenic literature and art.
>
> Let daemons possess us! Let us terrify like Erinyes, the whole tribe of academic Grecians! (CP 328)

Like Harrison and Murray, H.D. would continue to approach the past from a "new standard," "through the medium of the/ Mysteries and through the intercession of other Gods" (CP 329).

H.D.'s "new approach" to the past appears to be an approach to patriarchal constructions of Greek history through matriarchal constructions of religious ritual and myth.[20] Such an approach opens an historical perception of "real events" in the ancient past to a mythic reperception of its spiritual dimension. Harrison, in fact, refers to a "buried and forgotten" matrilineal tradition of myth which she believes informed the social structure of ancient Greek society (Themis 498). Her intuitive grasp of religion as the moral and social center of Greek society suggested that matrilineal religious consciousness might have structured social consciousness, but that patrilineal Greek social constructs had been misperceived by minds "trained rather in [the] historical than mythological method" (Themis 498).

Harrison's analysis of religious festivals in ancient Greece and Rome, like H.D.'s artistic reconstructions of religious myths and cults in Palimpsest, Pilate's Wife, and Helen in Egypt, seemed to locate social constructions of history in religious constructions of myth. To a certain

extent, H.D.'s complaint against "the whole tribe of academic Grecians" unable to intuit the soul of the past is precisely Harrison's complaint. Harrison's study of the classical past had led her to ask "what evidence is there, apart from mythological representations, of the existence of a social structure in which the mother, the male-child, and the tribe were the main factors?" (Themis 498). Less confined to archaeological evidence than Harrison, H.D. engages in an imaginative archaeology of Egyptian, Cretan, and Greek myth. In her imaginative transformations of myth and history, H.D. repeatedly approaches history through myth, facts through artifacts, and intellect through intuition in order to show that consciousness is a reconstructive site where matriarchal and patriarchal perceptions of the past may be fused into some new whole where women and men hold equal but irreconcilable places in the rituals of religion and in the events of history.

As H.D. so succinctly wrote at the opening of her autobiographical novel Bid Me To Live, the beginning decades of the twentieth century had been "a time of isms." Her own transmutation of archaeological materials into art was part of the larger modernist impulse to reinscribe the sacred space of the exhumed past. From her early Imagist phase to her later epic alignments of modern events with ancient myths, archaeology, history, and myth provided a steady focus for her spiritual contemplation of ancient

civilizations. It was from the physical remains of the past that H.D. was able to reconstruct a matriarchal matrix of Egyptian, Cretan, and Greek religious consciousness within the palimpsestic layers of historical consciousness.

Notes

1. See Chapter 1, where I discuss the connection between archaeology and the nineteenth-century tendency to reconstruct scaled models of Egypt and Assyria in representational exhibitions that mirrored the artifacts' original contexts.

2. Syncretism of sources was a decidedly modern style influenced by archaeological excavations in Africa and the middle- and near-East.

3. In The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Properties, Phyllis Messenger argues that an artifact, dislocated from the culture in which it had meaning and value, is viewed as property by the new culture that owns it. Consequently, the "living past" inherent in artifacts is lost to "talk of property, ownership, utility, and rights" (15). "Typically," she says, "'the past' is understood not only as the physical remains of the past (e.g., artifacts, places, monuments, archaeological sites) but also as 'perceptions of the past itself' (e.g., information, myths, and stories used in reconstructing and transmitting the past)" (2). And just as typically, the meaning assigned artifacts reveals the perceptions of the owner of the property rather than the culture from which the artifact came. Thus, by "out of context" I mean to suggest that the modernist perspective of ancient artifacts eliminates the context of the artifacts' own "pastness" and replaces it with its own (Western) reconstruction.

4. See Virginia Smyers' list of H.D.'s personal library books. Although copyright dates on the Budge books in her library suggest she was not familiar with Budge's work as early as 1911, the fact that she was "on location" at the British Museum, where he was director of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, and where she was surrounded by Egyptian art on a daily basis, makes her actual purchase of these books at this time rather a moot point.

5. In The Spirit of Romance (1910), Pound first introduces the concept of elan vital, the enduring, revivable spirit that inhabits particularly striking details of past literature. His methods of translating ancient literature involved the translation only of those details that captured something of the spirit of the past. In A Genealogy of Modernism, Levenson links Bergsonian "intuition" to Pound's elan vital, opposing it to reason and

"classical discipline"--which doesn't permit the classical scholar the luxury of translating only certain details (85).

6. In a presentation she gave at the University of Iowa in November, 1986, Diana Collecott linked H.D.'s notion of "womb vision" (Notes on Thought and Vision) to the glass dome of the British Museum Reading Room--a connection which gains in meaning when one considers H.D.'s creative fusion with and revitalization of the "pastness" which surrounded her there.

7. H.D.'s translation of the past into the present is best exemplified as a "fusion," an idea heavily marked in the margins of Murray's Five Stages of Greek Religion: "gods and goddesses do not fuse [with other religions in other cultures] under ordinary temperatures . . . but the amalgamation only takes place in the white heat of ecstatic philosophy or the rites of religious mysticism" (86).

8. Pound's sixth book of poems, Canzoni (1911), contains seeds of Pound's "growing sense that all ages are in some way contemporaneous" (Longenbach 13). In Guide to Kulcher he states more explicitly that "We do NOT know the past in chronological sequence." His objection to linear, sequential historical methods was rooted in the basic tenets of Einstein's theory of relativity. According to Longenbach, Pound and Eliot "were occupied not only with the recollection of the past but with the process and methodology of that recollection. Their work forced them to think strenuously about the ontological status of history and the nature of historical understanding. The heart of Anglo-American literary modernism may be found in Pound's and Eliot's attempts to negotiate between several conflicting types of historicism, and discover a vitalizing attitude toward history" (12).

9. "Archaeology," according to Peter Levi, "is an activity that explores the continuity of the history it unearths. Tracing the links between one culture and another, one period and another, lies at the core of archaeological science" (Cottrell, The Bull of Minos 14). The historical emphasis on "continuity" characteristic of archaeology is thus naturally opposed to Pound's ahistorical impulses in art. Yet Pound can never really free his own interest in past literatures of archaeology or history, since his subject matter often asserts the very historicity it undercuts.

10. Although the Cambridge scholars are not responsible for framing the debate over whether the classics were dead in the modern world or applicable to it, it was a debate framed at this time by educators and classicists

interested in retaining the classics in educational curricula. See Chapter 1, n. 28 for an extended account of that debate.

11. See Harrison's Themis, where she makes a distinction between magic, sacrament and sacrifice. "Magic is the more general term," she writes. "Sacrament is usually confined to cases where the ceremonial contact is by eating; sacrifice has come to be associated with the killing of an animal or the making over of any object by a gift" (138). These concepts of magic and sacrifice, especially, are important in H.D.'s Notes on Euripides and her unpublished novel Pilate's Wife.

12. H.D. does, however, heavily pencil Gilbert Murray's reference to Harrison in Five Stages (29). H.D.'s likely routes of transmission from Frazer's The Golden Bough were Richard Aldington, Ezra Pound, D.H. Lawrence, and T.S. Eliot (see Vickery 74).

13. See Bid Me To Live where Rico (D.H. Lawrence) liked Julia's Greek translations better than Gilbert Murray's (66).

14. What Pound means by "primitive" literary systems is not altogether clear. His parallel to Frazer, however, suggests that the new art of metrics and of words will emphasize translation of concrete details from past literatures into new rhythms of verse.

15. In A Genealogy of Modernism, Michael Levenson outlines Hulme's shift from romanticism, characterized by "personal inspiration" to classicism, characterized by rules of form. For more on Hulme's romantic/classical distinction, see Levenson (85-87) and Poggioli (81).

16. See Browne's reference to the revival of the classics as putting "New wine in old bottles."

17. Levenson in his A Genealogy of Modernism (81-86) and Hanscombe & Smyers in their Writing for Their Lives (9) both note that the new poetry involved some reconciliation of objective form with subjective content.

18. Vorticism has affinities with Futurism as well as Cubism. For more on this, see Art Through the Ages and Marjorie Perloff's The Future Moment.

19. Imagism's associations with Cubism and Abstractionism are beyond the scope of this study. For more on the visual syntax of juxtaposition characteristic of

modernist painters, see Daniel Bell's "Modernism Mummified" (American Quarterly 39.1 (1987): 122-32), George H. Roeder's "What have Modernists Looked At? Experiential Roots of Twentieth-Century American Painting" (American Quarterly 39.1 (1987): 56-83), and Marjorie Perloff's The Futurist Moment.

20. Much H.D. criticism, beginning with Susan Gubar's "The Echoing Spell of H.D.'s Trilogy" and reaching its apex in Susan Stanford Friedman's Psyche Reborn is concerned with uncovering a female tradition in literature. Their criticism views H.D. as writing within/against a patriarchal tradition characteristic of Western civilization, where women are subordinate within a male-centered social organization. While I do not wish to repeat their mythic readings of H.D.'s recovery of a matriarchal goddess tradition, where women are spiritually empowered by the recovery of positive images of Motherhood and female-centered power, it is nonetheless important to note that the archaeological recovery and reevaluation of matrilineal traditions was part of the history of H.D.'s literary moment.

CHAPTER THREE

H.D.'S RECENSION OF THE EGYPTIAN BOOK OF THE DEAD IN PALIMPSEST

> This all along, is pieces from The Book of the Dead.
> H.D., Palimpsest

"The Greeks came to Egypt to learn," H.D. wrote in Palimpsest (1926). And it was from Greece to Egypt that H.D. journeyed in 1923, guided by the Greek spirit of the "The winged Nike, the white sea-gull, the imperturbable/ soft Owl, the owl, whose great eyes search the night, the/ mind, the dark places of ignorance" ("Helios and Athene," CP 330). H.D.'s search for the matriarchal past would take her beyond the "sterile 'intellectuality'" of Greece defined by the masculine intellectual force of Helios, to the feminine intuitive force of Egypt defined by Isis. Moreover, it would involve her descent into the "mind, the dark places of ignorance" where the unconscious memory of the matriarchal past lay buried and forgotten.

Much H.D. scholarship has concerned itself with H.D.'s recovery of matriarchal myths. The feminist approach to this recovery, however, has not dealt explicitly with the cultural contexts which made H.D.'s re-membering a matriarchal past possible. In this chapter, I argue that

H.D.'s process of recovering the Isis myth is not only a process which empowers her women characters, but also a process which attempts to restore myth's traditional ties with history. The double-axis of myth and history H.D. reconstructs in her text Palimpsest overlaps with the cultural contexts of archaeology, anthropology, psychology, and popular culture which were, to varying degrees, invested in mythic and/or historical approaches to the past.

H.D.'s literary response to the Tutankhamen excavation clearly overlaps with anthropological and psychological interpretations of myth current in her culture. But her responses also overlap with popular responses to the excavation. The third story of Palimpsest, "Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt," and her unpublished sequel, "Hesperia," frequently allude to popular perceptions of Egypt, and H.D. makes use of these cultural details to recreate an historical surface in her stories. The tension between the historical surface and H.D.'s recreation of a mythic understructure result in exchanges between H.D.'s literary text and her cultural contexts. From a New Historicist perspective, the sites of exchange are important moments in H.D.'s text because in these moments H.D. allows history and myth to superimpose in ways that help us reperceive her cultural contexts and her textual reconstructions of history and myth. It thus seems appropriate to give a broad sketch

of the popular, intellectual, and mythic contexts within which Palimpsest and "Hesperia" were written before addressing the three "texts" of her novel.

Popular and Intellectual Contexts

In the decade following Howard Carter's excavation of Tutankhamen's tomb and H.D.'s journey to Egypt (outlined in Chp. 1), H.D. began formulating the mythic understructure of historical consciousness in Palimpsest (1926), Kora and Ka (1931), "Hesperia" (1934), and Nights (1935). Her mythic concerns were in tension with the popular response to the excavation. Even before the opening of Tutankhamen's burial chamber, the U.S. Patent Office had been flooded with requests from textile manufacturers for copyrights on Tut's gloves, sandals, fabrics, and handbags (The New York Times 7 Feb. 1923 1:3).[1] It was not long before couturiers, haberdashers, and hairdressers were featuring magazine mockups of the androgyne silhouette, close-fitting cap, and shingle cut. Vogue's April-December "mode a la eyptienne" set the fashion pace for 1923 and The Ladies' Home Journal kept stride (1 Apr. 1923 61.7: 41).[2] By 1925, Leon Bakst, the set designer for Diaghilev's Scheherezade (1910), Cleopatre (1910), and Helene de Sparte (1911), was setting the fashion stage in Paris with his "Isis Collection" (Brackman 156), perhaps suggesting for H.D. the slim-fitting Isis dress in midnight blue which Margaret Fairwood models

in a reflective moment before the mirror (P 280). Yet although H.D. often includes details of popular fashion like this in Palimpsest and "Hesperia," more often her character Margaret Fairwood seems to disapprove the depreciation of Egypt's spiritual values by the cardboard values of modern culture, recognizing her "atavistic inheritance" pasted "on everything, cigarette boxes, posters in the underground; cigarette boxes, magazine ads" (P 268).

In the same year that Bakst introduced his Isis line, the Paris L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratif et Industriels Modernes exhibited the new style of Art Deco. The geometric lines of Art Deco became architectural cliches in cinema houses of the 1920s and 1930s "with their elaborate friezes of ochre and gold" and their "pyramidal or ziggaurat" structures (Hillier 11, 20, 52). Cliched, too, were generations of movies inspired by rumors of King Tutankhamen's curse. News of Lord Carnarvon's death by an insect bite on April 5, 1923 seemed appropriately on cue in the unfolding Tutankhamen drama, coming as no surprise to "students of Egyptian mysticism" who were convinced that a curse had been laid on those present for the opening of Tutankhamen's burial chamber (New York Times 5 Apr. 1923: 1a).[3] By April 11, a Berlin film company had already conceived "a mammoth picture entitled 'Pharaoh's Revenge'" which would depict "Tut-ankh-Amen in all his glory, his

secret burial in the desert tomb, the priests' curse incantation against all disturbers, and finally the archaeologist's [presumably Carter's] defiance of death" (New York Times 11 Apr. 1923 23:7).

Although the German film never appears to have been made, Universal pictures in Hollywood cashed in on the widespread idea of a curse nearly a decade later in Boris Karloff's portrayal of Im-Ho-tep in The Mummy (1932).[4] In "Hesperia" (1934), H.D. recalls popular rumors with subliminal frames alluding to the eerie news that "Darnovan [Lord Carnarvon] was stricken" ("H" 7, 10). More importantly, H.D.'s Margaret Fairwood, like Helen Grovenor of The Mummy, seems telepathically affected by the opening of a coffin and the release of the curse therein. For both women, only the charms and spells of Isis can preserve them, only the scroll of Thoth can effect their transmigration through many forms and call them back through the centuries.

Harriet Monroe, editor of Poetry magazine, lamented the commercialized fate of Egypt's spiritual kingdom. "Like everyone else," she wrote in April, 1923,

> I have been standing breathless at the entrance of King Tutankhamen's tomb in the sun-washed and sand-covered Vale of the Kings near Luxor. And like everyone else, no doubt, I have marvelled at the magnificent futility of his royal arrangements to cheat death. To pile up feasts and treasures to ensure the keeping of regal state in the next world, only to arrive, after three-and-a-half thousand years, at a show-case in a museum--one's head unwound of its cerements and exposed, naked and labeled, to the vulgar gaze--surely this, for an

> Egyptian autocrat of that proudest of dynasties, would have been the last unimaginable insult of the irony of fate. ("The King's Tomb" 22 [1923]: 33)

In comparing ancient Egyptian art with the modern scientific age, Monroe observed that "only art endures. . . . And printed words, pages, books, saved from encroaching dust. Of such fragments . . . may the tale of our tribe be made up for the students of A.D. 4923" (35-36). In the 1920s and 1930s the tale of ancient Egypt's tribe experienced a modest boom in historical novels about King Tutankhamen and the monotheistic reign of Akhenaton.[5] Yet Harriet Monroe's charge to modern artists was clear: to create modern myths from whose fragments future archaeologists might excavate and reconstruct the spiritual contours of modern consciousness.

During the classical revival of the early twentieth century, modern writers were beginning to reconstruct the spiritual contours of modern consciousness. H.D., many of her literary compatriots, and the scholars of the classical revival were committed to reperceiving classical texts in a context of archaeological evidence that pointed to middle- and near-Eastern origins of Western civilization. For more than a decade, Pound and Eliot had actively sought "to resuscitate the dead art/ Of poetry" in Mauberley's and Prufrock's London waste land. Their shoring of historical scraps and archaeological fragments against the ruins of

Western mythological and biblical traditions (see Chapters One and Two) bespoke a general artistic impulse to excavate the deeper layers of consciousness, to cull from non-Western sources what Freud called the dream of the race and Pound the tale of the tribe.

For Pound, Ulysses' journey home which begins The Cantos takes historical and spatial detours through America, Greece, Africa, China, and Japan. Eliot's questor in The Waste Land (1922) also travels beyond London, steering a course for Indic origins in response to the spiritual malaise of the West. In Plumed Serpent (1926) and Etruscan Places (1927), D. H. Lawrence turns to Mexico and to Italy in search of native American and pre-Christian myths powerful to infuse the social body of Western culture with native energy. William Carlos Williams and Hart Crane, on the other hand, find in Paterson, New Jersey's power plant and the Brooklyn bridge energy enough to regenerate old histories and construct new myths. In Palimpsest, "Hesperia," Kora and Ka, Nights, The Gift, Trilogy and Helen in Egypt, H.D. turns to Egyptian myth as the source for reconstructing historical memory. Everywhere--Africa, America, China, Egypt, Greece, India, Italy, Mexico--archaeologists were releasing spirits from the ancient past. Modern writers, by invoking Thoth, Isis, Confucius, Hermes, Krishna, Mercury, and Quetzalcoatl, were trying to call them

back through the centuries in the manner of Pound's "The Return."

The pattern of the katabasis--the descent into the underworld[6]--describes what appeared to be a collective literary, anthropological, and psychological response to the archaeological recovery of non-Western civilizations. The "mythic" understructures of H.D.'s literary texts partook of a larger context of myth criticism advanced by James Frazer, Jane Harrison, and Gilbert Murray, and psychoanalytic theories of the unconscious advanced by Freud. Frazer had paved the way with his empirical analyses of mythological structures which brought solar mythology into cyclical conjunction with underworld mythology. Freud drew from the cyclic pattern of solar and underworld mythologies the archaeological character of the mind divided into consciousness and the unconscious.

Just as mythologists regarded the underworld as a "place," so too did Freud regard the unconscious as the "place" where mythological structures resided. According to Francoise Meltzer, a literary historian of the term "unconscious," Freud describes the unconscious in spatial metaphors in his essay "A Note on the Unconscious in Psycho-Analysis" (1912) (Meltzer 149-50). For Freud, the "unconscious" is "that which is latent and not retrievable by any act of conscious will" (Meltzer 150). When Freud is

alluding to the unconscious, Meltzer says, we get such metaphors as

> "uncharted terrain," "unknown regions," the dream as the"royal road to the unconscious," and the unconscious itself as an antechamber leading to a sitting room (consciousness) which is carefully guarded by a sentry (the sentry is the personification of the repression barrier--the barrier that refuses unconscious thoughts entry into consciousness). In addition, it is in the discussion of this descriptive unconscious that Freud gives us a model such as the "mystic writing pad," a child's toy for writing and erasing which serves as an analogy for the mind and memory. (Meltzer 150)

The metaphoric language of Freud's description of the unconscious partakes of the discourse of literature and myth. For this reason, it is a useful analogy both for the archaeological excavation of ancient cultures and for the literary appropriation of the katabasis as a process which recollects the latent memories of cultural consciousness.

For H.D., Freud's description of the unconscious as a "mystic writing pad" suggests a metaphor for her process of writing in Palimpsest. Her modernist rewriting of history and reconstructions of myth overlap the intellectual contexts of anthropology and psychoanalysis, but they also overlap contexts critical of the literary appropriation of myth as a rubric for understanding history. The Adelphi, a magazine to which H.D. submitted a number of book reviews during the 1920s, printed a review "On Psycho-Analysis" which decried the tendency among poets to confuse the

content of the unconscious mind with the conscious mind. According to the reviewer,

> the great majority visit the gods at times; and if they have spent the night sitting, like Amenhotep, on the lap of the Great Mother, it is a pity they should be taught to confuse her with the under-housemaid when they wake.
>
> The craze for phallicism is as tiresome as Sun Myths and Golden Boughs. They are all true in their own octave, and foolish when transferred to the wrong octave. . . . All our condescension in permitting to the ancients the use of poetic license is entirely misplaced. All the things which a poet describes, if he is a real poet, are quite as real as brick walls and railway trains. (The Adelphi 2.5 [1924]: 378)

This reviewer's criticism of modern poetry appears to derive from his perception that poets too often misconstrue the "real" as the mythic or the symbolic. Aldous Huxley's "Our Contemporary Hocus-Pocus" goes a step further, pillorying Freudian psychoanalysis as the root cause for the confusion between "fairy stories" and "facts." He views the Freudian unconscious as a "fairy story" used to interpret dreams as "anthropomorphic myths" which were in turn "treated as facts" on which psychoanalytic theories were based (The Adelphi 2.12 [1925]: 971-73). What Hayden White characterizes as the nineteenth-century split between historiography and mythography remained a problematic within twentieth-century intellectual contexts which were trying to negotiate between myth and history in interpreting the "real events" of personal and historical memory.

H.D. wrote Palimpsest within a cultural climate which questioned the claims of the mythical unconscious on the "facts" of historical consciousness. H.D.'s version of the katabasis, structured by the Egyptian night sea journey, offers a matriarchal pattern of descent into the underworld and ascent to consciousness which significantly configures history superimposed on myth. Isis is the mythological protectress of H.D.'s women characters, warding off their "deaths" with her incantations to life and reclaiming for them the power of spiritual/psychic regeneration. In her use of the Egyptian katabasis, H.D. transforms classical and Judeo-Christian myths of the dead and resurrected god into a generative myth of women's movement from unconsciousness to consciousness under the aegis of Isis. Isis' participation in the cyclic pattern of Osiris' death/rebirth and descent/ascent provides H.D. with a matriarchal pattern of myth which aligns the Mother Goddess with matrilineal sources of civilization's beginnings--an approach which classical scholars like Murray and Harrison had already begun to study.[7] More importantly, H.D.'s retracings of myth attempt to align the symbolic content of "dream time" with the events of "historical time."

H.D.'s Egyptian Sources

With the archaeological excavation of King Tutankhamen's tomb, the layers of Western consciousness shifted. On February 23, the New York Times reported that

> there has been a decided increase in application at the Library of Congress for anything pertaining to Tut-ankh-Amen and Egyptian history in general. It was said today that practically all the books and prints in the library dealing with this period of the world's history were in constant demand. ("Tut-Ankh-Amen Bag First to Seek Name" 23 Feb. 1923 15: 1, 3)

As with Joyce's Finnegans Wake,[8] H.D.'s writings after 1923 bore the archaeological and spiritual stamp of that shift. Her writings after this period can be tied to a number of Egyptological source books which H.D. used in her reconstruction of the mythic journey from the unconscious to consciousness. Among her most notable sources were Budge's popular books of Egypt, especially his Theban Recension of the Egyptian Book of the Dead and his two-volume translation of The Egyptian Heaven and Hell. Budge's translations were part of the cultural climate, receiving media attention in conjunction with the excavation of Tutankhamen's burial chamber. Le Page Renouf, the curator of the Egyptian room at the British Museum who preceded Budge, was the first to attempt a scholarly translation of the "Book of the Dead" from the Turin papyri. Budge followed with this Theban compilation, derived from a variety of papyri (principally the papyrus of Ani) and tomb and temple inscriptions. His

work, however, was considered less scholarly than Renouf's. According to Who Was Who in Egyptology, Budge's "output of published works is the largest and most astonishing of any orientalist." Yet he was considered "too prolific for careful work" (45). His works were nonetheless popular, even though many were "inaccurate" by the Berlin standards of transcription (45). H.D.'s Margaret Fairwood registers something of this ambivalence to Budge in "Secret Name" in her disdain for "Bodge-Grafton's" research methods, even though she willingly serves as his research secretary. Yet as secretary, H.D. positions her as a critic of Budge, one who reperceives a matriarchal pattern of myth that Budge does not.

While in Luxor, H.D. also acquired at least six other books on Egypt which shaped her writing of Palimpsest, many of them gifts from Bryher. Among those so inscribed were Arthur Weigall's A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt (purchased on January 31 before H.D., Bryher, and Helen Wolle Doolittle boarded the train from Cairo to Luxor), Broderick and Morton's A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology, Brian Brown's The Wisdom of the Egyptians, Janet Buttles' The Queens of Egypt, and Margaret Murray's Ancient Egyptian Legends, apparently a gift from Bryher on the occasion of their journey from Luxor to Aswan on the

S. S. Rosetta February 12. Another, Mary Cecil's rhapsodic Bird Notes from the Nile, contains several of H.D.'s marginal marks and two notes: one, that an Egyptian turtle dove was "first seen in sandy spaces under the palm trees in Luxor Hotel gardens" (25) and another, that a Nile kingfisher was "first seen on wall half-way to Valley of Kings, (Feb. 2, 1923) above dry ditch" (52). H.D. also marked the epigraph, taken from an ancient Egyptian song, with which Mary Cecil begins Chapter Three: "The voice of the dove speaks,/ She says, 'The world is light, observe it!" (22). H.D. reconfigures these seemingly unremarkable details at a crucial moment in Margaret Fairwood's initiation into higher consciousness at the end of "Secret Name."

H.D.'s journey to Egypt initiated her into a middle-Eastern matrix of women's myth and history. Within this matrix, she is guided by the example of her mythological mentor, Isis, to reclaim the artifacts of power--the palette and the stylus--belonging to the Egyptian Thoth. Empowered by palette and stylus, H.D.'s women characters reinscribe a matriarchal katabasis within the mythic paradigm of Isis' search for Osiris' heart and phallus of power (DA 180-81). Isis' journey, figured on the walls of Egyptian tombs as "pieces from the Book of the Dead" (P 259), form the narrative understructure of H.D.'s Palimpsest. Within this

narrative structure, H.D. interpolates the pharaonic histories of Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1500 B.C.). Over the empowering myth of Isis and her historical avatars, Queens Hatshepsut and Nefertiti, H.D. then superimposes classical and modern women initiates to Isis' mythic rite/right/write to spiritual consciousness. The complexity of H.D.'s palimpsest reveals the extent to which she consciously appropriated archaeological and cultural materials in order to negotiate the tensions between myth and history in her literary reconstructions.

H.D.'s Palimpsestic Recensions

Many critics use "palimpsest" as a metaphor for H.D.'s mode of overwriting patriarchal solar myths with matriarchal ones.[9] Few critics, however, have entered into her novel Palimpsest (1926) to probe the textual strata of Egyptian myth which connect the interior monologues of Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome, and Mrs. Margaret Fairwood.[10] Only Joseph Riddel in "H.D. and the Poetics of 'Spiritual Realism'" moves beyond existing readings in an attempt to recover an Egyptian "Ur-myth," a partially erased mythic template from which Margaret Fairwood seems to derive the material for her interior monologue in the third story of Palimpsest, "Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt." Riddel does little more, however, than note that Margaret Fairwood's journey to Egypt results in a revelation that she "cannot restore the old

myths," that "history itself after all is only a language in which the variations are composed upon the erasures of the one great palimpsest" (456-458). Friedman criticizes Riddel's use of the reductionist term "Ur-myth" on grounds that H.D. "never claimed that there is only one pattern or monomyth" underlying history and language. Yet significantly, I think, she concedes that Riddel is "correct in his description of the quest for essential patterns as the cornerstone of her concept of history and approach to myth" (Psyche Reborn 110).

It is between Riddel's suggestion that Palimpsest invites the recovery of an "Ur-myth" and Friedman's caution to the critic who is tempted to do so that I insert my argument: namely, that the Budge books in H.D.'s personal library, thus far overlooked by H.D. critics,[11] identify an Ur-paradigm of Egyptian myth whose tableaux and glyphs record variations of the soul's night sea journey to the sun. From this "essential pattern" H.D. clearly maps her own variations on the Egyptian night sea journey, offering the possibility of reperceiving history in the three stories of Palimpsest.

It is tempting to take H.D.'s "palimpsest" metaphor as a guide for reading Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome, and Margaret Fairwood as stylistic superimpositions "from which one writing has been erased to make room for another" (See

title page of H.D.'s Palimpsest). But at Weatherhead's suggestion, in "Style in H.D.'s Novels," that H.D. had a penchant for superimposing her characters "upon figures of the past" (543), one might profitably plumb a particular kind of superimposition. When each character names an Egyptian avatar--Isis for Hipparchia, Queen Nefertiti for Raymonde Ransome, and Hatshepsut for Margaret Fairwood--each identifies a body of myths and histories collected in E. A. Wallis Budge's translations of the Book of the Dead and compilations of Egyptian history.

By bringing the Budge books into H.D. criticism, I want to introduce a paradigm of Egyptian myths whose "Recensions' convincingly provide H.D. a writing model for her palimpsestic vision. "Recension," from the Latin recensio, means "a critical revision of a text incorporating the most plausible elements found in varying sources" (American Heritage Dictionary). The stories of Palimpsest become more explicable in light of H.D.'s feminine "recensions" of the Egyptian night sea journey to the sun, making equally tenable Riddel's suggestion that an Egyptian "Ur-myth" exists, though it is irretrievable, and Friedman's caution that, if it exists, its variations are multiple. In addition to presenting H.D. with a paradigm of myth and a model for writing, the Book of the Dead presents her with a kind of recovered artifact which, like the objects in the

British Museum and the images of her Imagist poetry, pulsates with an inner life she reperceives through intuition. In this sense, H.D. transfers certain artifactual "pieces" from the Book of the Dead into her own literary reconstructions of the Isis myth.

In "Towards a Poetics of Culture," Stephen Greenblatt claims that material "transferred from one discursive sphere to another" become "aesthetic property" (Greenblatt 11). It is from "pieces" of Egyptian legend found on papyri and tomb inscriptions that Budge reconstructs the Book of the Dead; similarly, it is from "pieces" from the Book of the Dead that H.D. reconstructs the mythic understructure of Palimpsest. The transfer of "pieces" from "one discursive sphere to another" become for each the "aesthetic property" of their respective "recensions." As "aesthetic property," Budge's recension typifies what Greenblatt calls a "negotiation" between "shared [aesthetic] conventions" and the "practices of society" (Greenblatt 13). Although Budge and H.D. may be said to share the same "aesthetic property"--namely, fragments from the Book of the Dead--the nature of their negotiations between aesthetic conventions and social practices differs markedly, as follows.

In the preface to his translation, Budge explains that the Book of the Dead was used by the Egyptians as a religious hymnal and spiritual guidebook which directed the

soul's journey from death and darkness "into the realms of light and life, and into the presence of the divine being Osiris, the conqueror of death, who made men and women 'to be born again'" (x-xi). To use Riddel's phrase, the Book of the Dead seems the "one great palimpsest," the Ur-paradigm of Egyptian myth for which Budge provides a general description and which outlines the plot of the soul's journey from death to life, from darkness to light. From a number of angles, this conventional plot which unifies the various hymns to Osiris becomes an important contrast to H.D.'s recensions of myth and history from the Book of the Dead.

From one angle, Budge makes explicit in his 1909 preface to the Book of the Dead that its contents are translations principally of "The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri which identify the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead from the XVIII to the XXII Dynasties in Egypt. He decries the fashion among Egyptologists who "announce as a great discovery that the hieroglyphic and hieratic texts thereof are corrupt," defending his translation of the Theban papyri on grounds that

> the scribes and sages of the XIXth Dynasty had as much difficulty as we have in reading certain hieratic signs which were written during the Early Empire, and were as undecided as we are about the true transcription of them. The text of every great national religious composition which is handed down first by oral

> tradition, and secondly by copies which are multiplied by professional scribes and others, is bound to become corrupt in places. . . . But the history of the religious literatures of the world shows that when a series of compositions has once attained to the position of a recognized national religious work, the corruptions in the text thereof do not in any way affect the minds of their orthodox readers in the general credibility of the passages in which they occur. (x-xi)

By backgrounding the Egyptian papyri in oral tradition and by gleaning from its written tradition a mythic plot which describes the whole of the Book of the Dead, Budge sets forth and justifies his translations as multiple variations on an Ur-plot. His recension aligns him with the scribes of Egypt, for it is by piecing together varying fragments of papyri that he adduces a "corrupt" plot of the soul's journey to a sun god rather than to a goddess whose power is manifest in papyri fragments like "The Legend of Ra and Isis," on which H.D. bases "Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt."

Budge's recension negotiates between what he perceives to be the conventions of solar mythology and the practices of the Egyptian scribes and priests. He identifies an Egyptian solar myth in which Osiris is the sun god towards which dead souls move in their journeys to rebirth. It is this conventional plot which directs his translations of passages and dictates his arrangements of papyri fragments. To this plot, even the most disparate fragments, featuring a sun goddess, are aligned. While Budge can only suppose that

orthodox Egyptian scribes and priests were not much troubled by fragments which suggested a matriarchal rather than patriarchal reading of solar mythology, Erich Neumann, in The Origins of History and Consciousness, locates the origin of historical consciousness in solar mythology rather than in the katabasis pattern. In this descent-pattern, the hero is swallowed by the "dragon--night, sea, underworld--[which] corresponds to the sun's nocturnal journey, from which it emerges victoriously after having conquered the darkness." The hero's goal on the night sea journey, according to Neumann, is an alliance with "light and wind, cosmic symbols of the spirit that is not of this earth, bodiless and an enemy of the body" (300 ff.). His interpretation of solar mythology reduces the feminine principle to an unconscious, chthonic state to be overcome by masculine consciousness. The feminine principle, for Budge and Neumann, becomes both obstacle and occasion for the hero's initiation into the realm of light, into a state of higher consciousness.

Writing in an intellectual context were "phallicism" and "Sun Myths" were metaphors used to describe the patriarchal social construction of history and consciousness, H.D. was compelled to renegotiate at least the solar mythic conventions on which Budge's Book of the Dead is based. She exchanges his patriarchal perception of the origin of history and consciousness in solar mythology

for a matriarchal reperception in the katabasis pattern. In her 1919 Notes on Thought and Vision, H.D.'s ruminations on "womb vision" prove to be her antidote to the kind of patriarchal renderings of solar mythology interpreted by Budge and Neumann. By rewriting what Adalaide Morris calls the "conventional phallic metaphors for creativity" ("The Concept of Projection," 419 n. 17), H.D. locates the rebirth to higher consciousness in the generative capacity of the womb, a province of creativity dimly viewed by patriarchal solar mythologists such as Neumann, who equate the womb with "the pit, and hell . . . death and castration" (157-58). Such metaphors become interesting in light of the positive images H.D. uses to signal the journeys of her women characters from the unconscious to higher consciousness.

"Womb vision" undergoes many permutations throughout Notes (18-24). H.D.'s first definition of it is rather circular: it serves as a kind of monocle through which one may experience "vision of the womb." This kind of vision seems very close to Bergson's notions of intuitive perception, discussed in Chapter Two, especially since H.D. contrasts "vision of the womb" with "vision of the brain," or what Bergson refers to as intellectual perception. In H.D.'s work, "brain vision" seems to be a mode of perception which occurs in historical time, and is therefore typically aligned with history. "Womb vision," on the other hand,

seems to be a mode of perception which occurs in dream time, and is therefore aligned with myth. According to H.D.'s Notes, when the lenses of womb vision and brain vision are superimposed, when the intuitive and the intellectual modes of perception are focused, one has the ability to reperceive history and myth with a "third eye," emblematic of mystical knowledge and spiritual consciousness. The images H.D. uses to signify these three types of vision--jelly-fish, lenses, and pearl of light--bear fruitful resemblance to hieroglyphs which chart the Egyptian night sea journey to sunrise.

The myths H.D. chooses from the Book of the Dead to underwrite the stories of Palimpsest foreground and cluster images similar to ones she sets forth in Notes: the sea, the boat (khat, euphemism for the dead body), the fish, the serpent-stylus, and the sun-disc.[12] H.D. brings the images which chart womb vision into alignment with similar images which chart the Egyptian sunrise. When H.D. superimposes womb vision and Egyptian sun myths in Palimpsest, she views the unconscious as the repressed memory of Egyptian myth. When the mythic contents of the unconscious "break through" the Freudian barrier which separates consciousness from the unconscious, these are moments when H.D. allows historical consciousness to be reperceived--however momentary--through the latent structures of myth.

Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome, and Margaret Fairwood all journey through the unconscious (akin to silence) towards the defining light of consciousness (akin to speech). In journeys through the unconscious which replicate the Egyptian night sea journey, these women characters reenact a mythic pattern of 1) preparation for initiation, 2) identification with Isis, 3) dissolution either by darkness or by water into unconscious chthonic silence, 4) a journey by boat to a holy place of initiation into speech, and 5) an end in the power of written discourse.[13] As Isis initiates, they must discover some lost memory of myth which will allow them to reperceive their personal histories. To discover this memory, Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome, and Margaret Fairwood engage in psychic rememberings patterned after Isis's boat journey through Egypt, gathering and re-membering the broken body of Osiris.

In Margaret Murray's rehearsal of the journey recorded in Plutarch's Osiris et Iside and Budge's Book of the Dead, Isis locates and re-members thirteen fragments of Osiris's body; the fourteenth fragment, the phallus of power she cannot find, has been swallowed by the fish of the Nile, Egyptian glyph for body, Xa (293-94: also see Budge's definition of Xa in First Steps in Egyptian).[14] For H.D., this remembrance of and search for the phallus hidden within the body carries with it some sense of identification her

female characters have with Xa (body) and its power to utter forth consciousness. Isis embodies the power to reconstitute consciousness. Thus Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome, and Margaret Fairwood must each journey deep into her unconscious to recover the "memory-traces" with which to reconstitute her historical consciousness.

The mythic contours of H.D.'s literary recreation of her journey to Egypt probe through various histories, which H.D. generally aligns with consciousness, to the symbolic structures of myth, which she aligns with unconsciousness. Like an archaeologist, H.D. digs into the unconscious, raises up forgotten myths buried there, and reconstructs myth as a framework for ordering and understanding history. Restructuring perceptions of history with myth involves, as H.D. explains in H.D. by Delia Alton, a narrative process of trying "to plot the course of my journey, to circumscribe my own world or simply to put a frame around my clock face" (HDDA 220). The psychological journeys of H.D.'s women characters in Palimpsest thus begin in the conscious state of historical time, move into the unconscious state of mythic time, and end with a new understanding of history within the context of the symbolic structures of myth.

"Hipparchia: War Rome"

"Hipparchia: War Rome" takes place in Rome six months after the fall of Greece (circa 75 B.C.). As the title

indicates, H.D. uses "War Rome" and "circa 75 B.C." to establish the historical coordinates of her story. War, as such, is an historical event. But it is also an historical disruption which seeks to replace one social construct (Greek, in this story), with another (Roman). It is through the character of Hipparchia that H.D. allows us to follow the process by which Greek history is mythologically reperceived and reconstituted in historical consciousness.

Greek by birth, Hipparchia becomes part of the spoils of war, the property of a Roman soldier, Marius Decius. His complaint against her is that she resists his property rights over her body; she, who claims to be a priestess of the cult of Helios, is too disembodied to satisfy his passions. "Marius, Rome had repudiated her," Hipparchia thinks. "Verrus, Rome (of an affected cult of Egypt) had accepted her" (P 73). At issue in the story is Hipparchia's fear that Rome will erase memory of Greece. She, who has been granted oracular powers as a priestess of Helios, is in danger of having her voice silenced and the memory of her cultural past blotted out. In a psychological movement which conforms to the pattern of the Egyptian katabasis, H.D. has Hipparchia descend into her unconscious to learn from Isis the way to reconstitute her personal and cultural history.

H.D. uses Egyptian myth as an analogue for the unconscious mind. In her imaginative archaeology, H.D. exhumes the mythic structures of Egypt within the historical event of the fall of Greece. It is the fall of Greece, in fact, which precipitates Hipparchia's descent into the unconscious, where she learns from Egyptian myth the way to re-member Greek history. It seems to me that the mythic understructure of H.D.'s story is best described by Budge's translation of the Book Am-Taut in The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, a book in H.D.'s personal library.

As an analogue for Hipparchia's unconscious, the Book Am-Taut is a long and difficult guidebook which charts Afu-Ra's boat journey from death to life, from sunset to sunrise, through the twelve regions/ hours of the Taut (Other World). Though in later recensions Osiris assumes the attributes of Afu-Ra as the dead sun-god, what is important here is the prominence given serpents in the Taut: they guide the sun boat through the first six regions of darkness and guard the dead body of Afu-Ra/Osiris from his enemies. The serpents, whose oracular flames light the way through the Taut, also open the portals to the first six regions by uttering secret and magical formulae which permit Afu-Ra safe passage and protect him on his night sea journey (49).[15] In the sixth region, Afu-Ra's body is enwrapped by the five-headed serpent Ash-hrau. Within this ouroboric

cocoon, Afu-Ra births from his head the image of a beetle, Khepera, symbol of the promised sunrise (120).

In the seventh region of the Celestial Nile, region of darkest night, Isis joins Afu-Ra in his journey through the remaining regions of darkness. From the seventh through the twelfth regions, Afu-Ra, who "is ram-headed and wears a disk on his head," stands "under a canopy formed by the serpent Mehen"; Isis, who stands at the front of the boat, replaces the serpents as guide and guardian to Afu-Ra, having "both arms stretched out before her . . . reciting the words of power which shall make the boat to advance" to sunrise (140 ff.). The boat journey ends in the East, the twelfth region of the Taut, where Afu-Ra is required to enter into the tail end of the serpent, Ankhneteru, Neumann's devouring dragon, perhaps related to the Egyptian female monster, "Amam, the 'Devourer,' or 'Am-mit, the eater of the Dead'" in the Judgement Book of the Book of the Dead. Perhaps it is an Egyptian portmanteau glyph which conjoins the names of the son and daughter of Aten in the Nefertiti papyri fragments.[16] After successfully journeying through Ankhneteru, Afu-Ra, attended by the Egyptian pantheon, emerges transformed from the mouth of the serpent (258-77). In serpentine fashion, Afu-Ra sloughs off his mummified body (the dead body of Osiris), transformed by this act into the eternal beetle, Khepera, "The disk of the sun which is about

to rise on this world" (278). Afu-Ra's cyclic journey from night to day merges with his ouroboric journey through Ankhneteru so that his beginning a new day as the sun is simultaneous with his rebirth to higher consciousness. Significantly, Afu-Ra, together with Isis and the Egyptian pantheon, is uttered into "being" the beetle Khepera, by the mouth of the serpent.[17]

In the region of darkest night Isis is empowered with the gift of serpentine utterance which grants her both a primary place in the sun boat and access to the realms of light. H.D.'s Hipparchia, too, journeys through the sea of her unconscious and in the darkest region of her mind must identify with and be guided by Isis to resume the poetic utterances of her stylus--utterances which similarly grant her access to the realm of light, of higher consciousness. At times Hipparchia is guided in her journey by images from the Egyptian boat journey to sunrise, at times by images indicative of womb vision. It is through her journey through the dark of the unconscious that Hipparchia discovers how to reinscribe the historical consciousness of Greece. She remembers in her vision of Osiris her right to utter herself into consciousness through the stylus which effects her rite of passage to enlightenment. The sea, the boat/body, identification with Isis, and the stylus all

become important images which chart Hipparchia's night sea journey.

It is Verrus who prepares Hipparchia for her night sea journey to higher consciousness by awakening in her body a passion "that beat with rhythm to near sea" (60). The cult of Egypt which Verrus espouses influences Hipparchia's perception of her chariot journey to Rome as a boat journey. It is Hipparchia's sexual passion for Verrus which signals her departure on a journey through the Taut of her unconscious, through the realm of an "inner tideless ocean" which threatens to smother her "tomb-like, in some Egyptian coffin. She felt caught, paralysed. Hipparchia knew now love but was she caught now in it?" (52).

In love, Hipparchia experiences death, a relation H.D. formulates in Notes as that "act of love" which is the "world-consciousness" of Egypt, which is "death to the stings of life, which is the highest life" symbolized "by the serpent" (37, 40), augur of chthonic utterance. Hipparchia's experience of entombment ferries her into an Egyptian realm homologous with the Am-Taut and her unconscious. There, her body becomes a khat, or boat, which must make a journey through death and darkness to rebirth through the utterances of her stylus.

In a scene framed by historical time, H.D. has Hipparchia look at herself reflected in a pool of water.

First, she sees herself, but "as a sun-set cloud thickened near the horizon," Hipparchia's image is eclipsed, and her fears of forgetting herself and her history are symbolically realized. She responds, "Helios even you have slighted me" (76).[18] The eclipse of her conscious memory of Greece and Helios, which she no longer has access to in historical time, forces her below consciousness into unconscious mythic memory. H.D. thus uses the pool of water as a trope for the unconscious, and when Hipparchia looks a second time, she sees an image beneath the water's surface which urges her to explore this uncharted region of mythic memory: "Come," the unnamed image says,

> "fling straight forward and you must fall, white stone, weighted, unstruggling, breaking the water but once . . . My hand will hold you. See, we will slide under this uptilt of stone to another region. Image to image, we will cling until beneficient sea-tides wash us to some distant sand-stretch. We will wait on some god, a suitable Helios, for lover. Marius, Verrus. Intransient, alluring: false utterly." (76)

Characteristically, H.D. does not sustain the breakthrough of the unconscious into consciousness, but Hipparchia comes away from her moment of "reflection" with an intuitive grasp that her historical memory is in some way tied to mythic memory. Though unable to name and interpret the image in the pool of water, that it draws her into the storm-cloud of sunset compels Hipparchia to comment on the weather and to express concern for boats which must weather the storm and the night. "The air has changed somewhat," she says to

Verrus. "It means rough weather for those tiny fishing vessels" (78).

Hipparchia's previous musings over the Egyptian statues in Verrus's bedroom on a stormy night guide one in explicating and naming the darkened image in the pool of water who summons Hipparchia to the unconscious. Previously, while contemplating the statues, she had ascertained that

> We are what the gods weld us to. Across black shadows the rain beat heavier. . . . Within the shadow Isis watched. Osiris stood hands crossed on flat chest. By day he stood there odd and sinister. The gods of Verrus' affectation loomed more odd and threatening in imagination in the shadow. Egypt in the shadow. (64)

Transported in her contemplation to Egypt/the unconscious, it is easy to see other moments where the contents of Hipparchia's unconscious breakthrough into her consciousness, as with the unnamed image in the pool of water. The image is Isis, "come from some region which repudiated sunlight" (66). It is Isis who will guide Hipparchia "under this uptilt of stone into another region" beneath the surface of the water, Isis who will instruct her in the secrets of re-membering Greek culture.

Hipparchia's problems with memory are a direct result of the historical event of war and her inability to assimilate her historical consciousness of Greece with the historical conquest of Rome. At Tusculum, where Verrus has sent Hipparchia to recover from Roman brain fever--H.D.'s

metaphor for Hipparchia's crisis in consciousness--Hipparchia does indeed slip under the "uptilt of stone into another region." In her unconscious, Hipparchia welds herself to Isis, "image to image"; "Let me come to you," she beseeches Isis, and her plea seems answered in imagination, at least, for in identification with Isis Hipparchia becomes "one being. Blue, blue, blue, blue Isis to recall her. Isis stood in shadow and rain of unassailable longing rose to thwart her" (120).

In Hipparchia's fusion with Isis, H.D. fuses an historical figure (constructed from her imagination) with a mythic figure. The larger implications of this fusion suggest that, in this moment, H.D. intends us to view history as myth and myth as history. But as H.D. herself questioned in "H.D. by Delia Alton," once "out" of historical consciousness, why was it imperative to get back in? The answer is not altogether clear in "Hipparchia," but it is clear that H.D. can not and does not seek to sustain the fusion of myth and history. She seeks, rather, to give flashes of intuition from the unconscious which guide her readers and her characters to momentary reperceptions of the mythic understructure of historical events like war.

For Hipparchia, it is imperative that she learn from Isis not how to forget memory of Greece, but how to remember it. The voice of Julia Augusta challenges Hipparchia's

forgetfulness and recalls her from the latent memory of Isis to the more pressing business of recording her conscious memory of Greek culture. "A ship somewhere. The sea. A ship for Alexandria" signals Hipparchia's reentry into historical time and thwarts her desire to emulate Isis by joining Osiris in his death ship. In historical time, her task to remember can only be analogous to, not the same as, Isis' remembering of Osiris. Hipparchia senses that "a small firm hand," like the one in the pool of water, "dragged her back, back when she was lax and floating going--gone" (130). By her hand Julia leads Hipparchia back to the unrecorded memory of Greece on whose blank page she now urges Hipparchia to write.[19] With her hand, Julia performs an act of consecration repeated when Theseus/Rafton similarly touches Margaret Fairwood in "Secret Name," an act hieroglyphically inscribed on "The Obelisk of Hatshepsut" in Budge's Cleopatra's Needles, whose meaning is "Amen-Ra laying his hands on the Queen to infuse in her the fluid of life" (106). But as much as Julia's hands infuse Hipparchia with the "fluid of life," they also remind her how hands may record memory. Julia thus encourages Hipparchia to reclaim her forgotten stylus.

Like Khepera who, in the Book Am-Taut and again in "The Creation" papyrus, utters himself into being at the end of a night sea journey, Hipparchia must also raise herself out of

her unconscious, journey through her serpent-stylus, and write herself into consciousness. The process of Khepera's self-creative act, which Hipparchia imitates, is one in which he first thinks out "in his heart what manner of thing he wished to create, and then by uttering its name caused his thought to take concrete form. This process of thinking out the existence of things is expressed in Egyptian words which mean 'laying the foundation in the heart'" (Budge, Legends of the Gods, xviii). This Egyptian concept of the heart, which corresponds with H.D.'s equivalences of water, womb, and love, locates memory in the heart. It is thus important that Julia prompt Hipparchia's creative spirit by appealing to her "heart". When Julia calls Hipparchia back to consciousness, it is with the phrase, "I know them all by heart." "What do you know by heart?" Hipparchia asks. "Poetry. Your poetry," Julia says (131). Julia's oral "mutterings"[20] of Hipparchia's poetry are the charms that save Hipparchia from the dark of forgetfulness.

In the final tableau between Julia and Hipparchia, Hipparchia rededicates herself to writing Greek poetry. Her journey through the mythic unconscious to the source of memory has prepared her to reperceive and reconstruct her personal and cultural past. She intuits, as H.D. intuits in "Helios and Athene," that the secret to re-membering and

reviving the historical past resides in the unconscious "soul" of mythic memory.

"Murex: War and Post-War London"

Like Hipparchia, Raymonde Ransome in "Murex" must also reperceive her personal history through the structures of myth. The setting for "Murex" is post-World War I London. Weatherhead summarizes the story thus

> The heroine, Raymonde Ransome, is also a poet; she writes under the pseudonym Ray Bart. She is called upon to listen to the complaint of a young woman, Ermentrude, whose lover has been appropriated by another, a woman called Mavis, who ten years earlier (1916) had seduced Raymonde's own husband, Freddie, Raymonde having been in the hospital at the same time giving birth to a dead child. (540)

Weatherhead goes on to comment generally that each story of Palimpsest features a female "who has been deserted or has declined a sexual relationship" and who then goes on to identify "herself with the cares and concerns of a younger woman" (540). His emphasis on style rather than plot details, however, prevents his exploring the imbrication of myth and history in H.D.'s story. In Psyche Reborn, Susan Stanford Friedman notes that in this novel the women are caught in a "double-bind" between intellectual success as poets/writers and sexual failure as women (36). Both Weatherhead and Friedman introduce the problematic of female failure in the areas of sex and writing, suggesting that Palimpsest intends to break down a series of ratios which

hinge on success and failure: if to succeed as a poet is to succeed as a man and to succeed as a wife is to succeed as a woman, then for a woman to succeed as a poet is to fail as a woman. Read through mythic lenses, however, Raymonde Ransome's identifications of Mavis with Isis and Ermentrude with Nefertiti grant her access to older, Egyptian patterns through which she reperceives her personal history of struggle as a woman poet.

H.D. complicates her palimpsest in Murex by recovering both the Isis myth and the history of Queen Nefertiti within the personal memory of Raymonde. Whether H.D. gleaned her references to Nefertiti from Arthur Weigall's The Life and Times of Akhnaton (1923), which she owned and read, or from scholarship surrounding the 1907 archaeological discovery of the tombs of Akhnaton and Nefertiti, we cannot know for certain. Of significance to the story "Murex" was the fact that the Nefertiti bust was incomplete: one of her eyes was never inserted, an archaeological fact which becomes the subject of Raymonde Ransome's poem within the story, and which links "Murex" with "The Legend of Ra and Isis" on which "Secret Name" is based.

What probably interested H.D. about Akhnaton and Nefertiti was not only Akhnaton's revolutionary claim to be son of Aton, a word meaning "disk of the sun," but also Nefertiti's daughtership with Aton. To Akhnaton and

Nefertiti alone does Aton grant the secret knowledge of his self-created light, and Akhnaton celebrates this accordingly:

> "Every man who (standeth on his) feet since Thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, Thou hast raised up for Thy Son who came forth from Thy body, the King of the South and the North, living in Truth, Lord of Crowns, Akhun-Aten, great in the duration of his life (and for) the Royal Wife, great in majesty, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten Nefertiti, living (and) young for ever and ever." (Budge, Tutankhamen, 135)

On Nefertiti Akhnaton's encomium to Aton confers the title "Nefer-neferu-Aten," meaning, "exquisite beauty of the sun-disc." More, he seems to have given her an exclusive place in the temple of Aton, evidenced in hieroglyphic texts and colonades which depict her residing alone "in the House of the Sun-disc" (Redford, Akhenaten 77, 79).

Raymonde Ransome in this story uses her serpent-stylus to reinstate Isis/Mavis in the sun disk, a gesture which serves to complement and so complete Ermentrude/Nefertiti's vision of the sun with Isis' vision of the moon. It is with vision of the sun (Nefertiti/intellect) and vision of the moon (Isis/intuition) that Raymonde is able to reperceive Egyptian history and myth as homologous with her own personal history in post-war London.

The act of writing serves as Raymonde's antidote to the "cocoon-blur of not-thinking that was her fixed and static formula for London" (136). "Not-thinking," forgetfulness of the near and distant pasts of her own and other women's

stories of "blighted romance," seems precisely the formula Raymonde Ransome must get beyond when she listens to Ermentrude's version of abandonment by a man (Martin) to their common rival, Mavis (138, 154). Ermentrude's story is not so much a ritualized complaint over female abondonment as it is an oral retelling which guides Raymonde to apprehend how she herself is <u>like</u> Mavis, but "much more so. An original of some rather good copy," Ermentrude says to Raymonde (177). By listening to Ermentrude's story of female love, rather than female abondonment, Raymonde is able to break through her "forgetfulness" of her personal history in a way her writing has apparently not permitted.

Talking, in this story, enables H.D.'s recensions of Isis and Nefertiti. Ermentrude's story-telling parallels Freud's "talking cure" and exemplifies H.D.'s awareness of the psychoanalytic contexts of her own text. Ermentrude is positioned in this story as the patient. According to Meltzer,

> The patient tells the analyst what comes to mind, through free association. This telling in turn becomes a story: the patient's story as he or she is able to reconstruct it from the fragments of childhood memories. The very process of psychoanalysis entails the construction of a linear, cogent narrative; the recounting and piecing together of a life. The goal of analysis is to have the patient reconstruct a "better," more cohesive story as the analysis progresses. (Meltzer 155)

In recounting her story about Mavis, Ermentrude reconstructs a story "better" than her being abandoned by Martin or

Raymonde being abandoned by Freddie. When Ermentrude begins her story, it is as if Raymonde hears "something from the other end of a sort of psychic gramophone or wireless, that had power of recording the exact past" (153). This image of "recording the exact past" seems to be H.D.'s metaphor for historical consciousness. Yet through Ermentrude's narrative of personal history, Raymonde, positioned as analyst, hears what Meltzer calls the "sub-plot": she hears about Martin's abandonment of Ermentrude, but she also hears "the low purr of Mavis through the rather common heavy speech of Ermentrude" saying that she (Mavis) loves Raymonde.

In the "analyst" role, Raymonde is "obliged to interpret what is said; to retain images and facts which recur and to assess their value and function within the narrative; to 'read' dreams as if they were texts; in short, to reconstruct in turn the 'plot' of a life as it is itself being constructed" (Meltzer 155). Consequently, Raymonde offers her own interpretation of Ermentrude's plot of abandonment. Into Ermentrude's diatribe on Mavis's theft of her lover, Raymonde offers a correction which partially absolves Mavis of any guilt in stealing Raymonde's Freddie years before, an event she is reminded of by Ermentrude's narration. "I asked Mavis to look after Freddie," Raymonde admits to Ermentrude. This phrase, which Raymonde retrieves

from memory, and of which she "had never spoken," begins a pattern of detours in Ermentrude's and Raymonde's stories which moves towards recovery of the "sub-plot": "the unconscious as it may be itself reconstructed from the disguises and displacements it assumes in the tale the patient tells" (Meltzer 156). The detours in story-telling take both women below the threshold of consciousness; in the unconscious both women reclaim Mavis from heterosexual bonds with men, re-membering her among them because of her likeness to them rather than forgetting her in the pain of their respective abandonments. These women share in common not the men who betray them, but their love for one another as women.

Raymonde must reassess the value of her personal past in the phrase, "I asked Mavis to look after Freddie." Inserting her own story into Ermentrude's story, Raymonde is able to "reperceive" her own, Ermentrude's, and Mavis' personal histories as similarly patterned. This insight leads to the sub-plot of their shared narrative. H.D. guides us to the material in Raymonde's unconscious from which she reconstructs the "disguised" figures of Nefertiti and Isis and "displaces" the patterns of their stories onto Ermentrude and Mavis.

It is to be Raymonde's task, as analyst, to re-member, reconstruct, and record her personal history as an

interpolation of Egyptian history and myth. She realizes this most profoundly when, having journeyed through her unconscious, guided by the light cast from Ermy's amber[21] eyes, she confronts images of Ermentrude disguised as Nefertiti and Mavis disguised as Isis. In these figures from ancient history and myth, Raymonde re-members her forgotten personal history. For H.D., the process by which Raymonde may reconstruct her personal history is both archaeological and psychological in nature. Raymonde must reconstruct a "better" story of her life on the "tabula rasa" of her forgotten past. She sees through Ermentrude's eyes that her own life is structured by past histories like Nefertiti's and past myths like Isis'. She recognizes thais in an intuitive moment when she displaces Ermentrude onto Nefertiti. "God--it came to Raymonde in a flash--how beautiful. For Ermy was beautiful . . . with the beauty of some unearthed Queen Nefertiti. . . . Ermy was not of to-day, not even of yesterday, but of always and forever" (178-79).

By unearthing Nefertiti from her unconscious and by recognizing in her amber eyes her daughtership to Aton, the very emblem of higher consciousness, Raymonde is compelled by Ermy/Nefertiti's beauty to "concentrate, to force into consciousness--verses. . . . that meant diving deep, deep, deep" (226). Diving deep into her unconscious, Raymonde

retrieves the memory of Isis/Mavis and Nefertiti/Ermentrude. But as H.D. suggests at the end of "Hipparchia" and "Murex," it is not enough simply to remember; memory must be recorded so that it is not lost or forgotten by consciousness. H.D. suggests that Raymonde's poetry is a legitimate vehicle for remembering her past, even though her poetic reperception displaces the historical event of her abandonment by Freddie with the historical and mythic events of Nefertiti and Isis.

"Poetry," H.D. writes, "was to remember." In this claim alone H.D. reveals something of her perception of myth as the foundation of history. Raymonde's poem at the end of the story may thus be viewed as a compressed statement of her personal history reconstructed and recorded in mythic terms: "you said he said/ that you are nowise sun/ but moon, a thing of mirroring" and "You said he said/ that she was like the sun" (220) record Raymonde's new consciousness of Isis/Mavis and Nefertiti/Ermentrude. Though this poem is not a transparent record of Raymonde's personal history, H.D.'s use of the "talking cure" in this story nonetheless allows us to read the poem as a recension of the "inner life" of Raymonde's personal history. What H.D. accomplishes in her transference of the Nefertiti and Isis material to Raymonde's story and then to Raymonde's poem is a reapproachment to history not through the intellect, as Bergson terms it, but through intuition. The "soul" of

history, H.D. seems to suggest, originates in myth and may be revived by and reconstructed from it.

"Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt"

The epigraph with which H.D. prefaces "Secret Name," the third story of Palimpsest, is taken from her copy of Budge's translation of "The Legend of Ra and Isis" in Legends of the Gods (1912), one of the "Hieratic papyrus of the XXth dynasty" (P, 245; Budge, xxxvi). If Akhnaton permitted Nefertiti equal rights to the realm of the sun disk, Isis, in this legend, goes further, usurping the sovereignty of the One God and installing herself as the One Goddess who brings into being all creation. In this legend, Isis searches for an utterance which will gain her power over the decrepit sun God, Ra. Realizing in her own knowledge of secret spells the power to utter them and so destroy/restore Ra, Isis fashions a serpent-spear from a mixture of Ra's spittle and the earth, planning to sting Ra with it. The fatal sting of the serpent robs Ra of his power as Sun over heaven and earth. Isis promises to restore him to health, but not to power, if he will reveal to her the secret name of the One God from whom Ra derives his power as the Sun. Ra finally does so, consenting that

> "Isis shall search in me, and my name shall pass from my body into hers." At that moment Ra removed himself from the sight of the gods in his Boat, and the Throne in the Boat of Millions of Years had no occupant. The great name of Ra was, it seems, hidden in his heart,

> and Isis, having doubt as to whether Ra would keep his word or not, agreed with Horus that Ra must be made to take an oath to part with his two Eyes, that is, the Sun and the Moon. At length Ra allowed his heart to be taken from his body, and his great and secret name, whereby he lived, passed into the possession of Isis. (Budge, Legends, xxxvi-vii)

Isis heals Ra, as promised, and assumes his place in the sun boat, achieving dominion over heaven and earth as sun and moon because she has learned the secret name of Ra's power, a word Budge tells us signifies the one God in Egyptian legend, "almost impossible to say" (Budge, The Book of the Dead xci). That Ra must yield his heart to Isis identifies the heart of H.D.'s own feminine recensions of Egyptian myths. When Isis accedes to the power of the sun, she does so by speaking/biting/stinging, in which act she becomes the very "heart of Ra": she assumes the powers of Thoth, described in The Book of the Dead as the "Scribe of the Gods, [who] with his reed-pen and palette containing black and red ink" is the "personification of intelligence . . . self-created and self-existent . . . the 'heart of Ra'" (257, n.2.). By reclaiming Ra's heart, Isis symbolically reclaims Osiris' heart, as Evelyn Eaton outlines in The Hours of Isis, a book in H.D.'s library. According to Eaton, Osiris informs Isis that the "Nile received my heart and my sex. The one [the heart] returns to thee, the other never" (Eaton 57). Thus, in fashioning a serpent-spear in "The Legend of Ra and Isis," Isis recalls her former power

to procreate, to conceive Horus, in a prototypic act of self-creation.

In "Secret Name," Margaret[22] Fairwood has been temporarily released as researcher for Bodge-Grafton, an Egyptologist for whom she has done the drudging "research into Graeco-Roman texts for those tiresome facts, for authentic and tiresome information on lost fragments, wearisome notes for Bodge-Grafton's monumental and final volume" on Tutankhamen, Amenism, Atenism, and Egyptian Monotheism (1923) which "the new Tutankhamen excavation's" proves monumentally "wrong" (269). Even if she were only playing with the synesthetic evocations of "Bodge-Grafton," H.D.'s hybrid name is suggestive of links between Budge and "botch," and between "graft" and the male character of this story, Rafton (Ra-aton). Perhaps more deliberately, H.D. chides Budge for his patriarchal recensions of the Book of the Dead which she herself considers botched, if not monumentally wrong. "Grafton," suggestive of "graph" and writing, certainly plays on the idea of recension. It is through the veneer of "Bodge-Grafton" that we are meant to see how, in collating papyri fragments, Budge favors a patriarchal reading which slights the importance of "The Legend of Ra and Isis," a papyri fragment central to H.D.'s reperception of Isis' role in Egyptian mythology. In Margaret Fairwood's story, we are given H.D.'s recension of

Isis' role within H.D.'s constructed "historical time" of Margaret Fairwood's story.

Margaret Fairwood is prepared for her initiation into womb vision by entering into the womb-like burial chambers of King Amenophis II. At the entrance to the tomb, she meets an engineer with the Aswan Dam, Captain Rafton, who hands her two "trifles" he has found at the excavation site: a green scarab ring and a black opal bracelet (254). The green scarab, the beetle which signifies the eye of the sun, the eye of being, reminds Margaret of something she has forgotten, and she

> wanted to drag up from some drowned region of human consciousness those very stones. She wanted to dive deep, deep, courageously down into some unexploited region of the consciousness, into some common deep sea of unrecorded knowledge and bring, triumphant, to the surface some treasure buried, lost, forgotten. (255)

That treasure, the green scarab ring, brings Ra's handing over his eye of the sun to Isis into alignment with Rafton's handing over the scarab of being to Margaret. That the scarab reminds Margaret of some forgotten knowledge seems clear when she senses that it binds her to Rafton/Ra in an oath, "in some recognised relationship" connected with Egyptian legend (255). In a gesture of unwitting self-sacrifice, Margaret returns both scarab and opal bracelet--both eye of the sun and eye of the moon--to Rafton/Ra prior to her entry into the tomb.

When Margaret enters the burial chamber of King Amenophis II, an electric lightbulb reveals hieroglyphs etched on the walls and domed ceiling of the tomb, and Margaret observes that "This all along, is pieces from The Book of the Dead" (259). Prior to her entry into the tomb, she wonders if some "sort of sibilance claimed her like the hypnotic siss-siss of some beatific serpent" (259). Both tomb and serpent claim Margaret: they are the sign, seal, and sibilant presence of Isis who will initiate her into the "secret name" whereby she might reclaim the scarab and opal bracelet--the eyes of the sun and moon--from Ra/Rafton. Margaret is drawn to the "siss-siss" as to some source of secret knowledge aligned with Isis's words of power and powerful serpent-spear. On the ceiling of the tomb, she notes the "tiny minute pattern of barge and serpent, above all, minute and exquisitely etched stars on blue," a cluster of images reminiscent of Isis's dwelling under the cavernous dome of the night sky (Nut), guiding and protecting the solar bark with her serpentine utterances. Within the tomb, Margaret intuits the "criptic [sic] power" of the black opal bracelet Rafton had handed her at the entrance to the tomb (260). The scarab, black opal, barge, serpent, and sibilant presence of Isis combine to inform Margaret of the night sea journey she will take to Karnak by moonlight. They "almost seemed an initiation of some sort; the memory as of an opal

pressed against her forehead," signifying her right, as an Isis initiate, to the eye of the moon.

It is Rafton who will ferry Margaret to Karnak by moonlight. In a ritual which identifies Margaret with Isis, she unconsciously prepares for her journey to the tombs by dressing in Isis's color, blue. When she glances at her reflection in the mirror, she loses her shape and assumes the shape of Isis, "blue, blue slim creature with the heavy blue collar of blue stones" (280). Dimly remembering the role of Isis guiding the solar bark through the night sky, Margaret observes that the chariot taking her to Karnak seems a "dark moving barge" in a desert where "there was no hint of the sea" (296).[23]

Sitting beside Rafton on a tomb-wall in the Valley of Queens, Margaret remembers the black opal bracelet. But since she had returned both opal and scarab ring to Rafton that afternoon, even her memory of the eye of the moon threatens to be "eradicated, sponged out" (289). She feels herself obliterated by this "upright figure, that seemed, alert, dominant to be some familiar figure of tradition," Ra (289). When Rafton wanders away from Margaret, leaving her alone on the wall, it is a gesture which looks very much like Ra's abandonment of Isis, like Margaret's own banishment, as woman, to the realm of night and of silence. In his absence, however, Margaret examines the obelisk of

Queen Hatshepsut near the tomb-wall. She traces with her fingers the hieroglyphs in stone which record Hatshepsut's right to the pharaonic seat of power.

Here, H.D. alludes to cultural interpretations of Hatshepsut's reign in Egypt in 1500 B.C.. According to Broderick, Hatshepsut "took up the reins of government with vigour and decision . . . Her name will be remembered for all time by the magnificent and unique temple of Dier-el-Bahri, built under the Theban hills" (65-66). But another version of her history was viewed in terms of her usurpation of her husband's and son's throne. H.D. seems aware of both views and uses both to show how this moment in Egyptian history appears structured by "The Legend of Ra and Isis." But the history of Hatshepsut's reign inscribed on the temple walls is partially erased, and when Margaret Fairwood traces the hieroglyphs with her fingers, she "reads" that Hatshepsut lost her throne, for the hieroglyphs depicting her kingship are scratched out.[24] Margaret can only reconstruct her knowledge of how Hatshepsut gained her throne through intuition, and this requires her initiation into the mythic knowledge of "The Legend of Ra and Isis" after which Hatshepsut's reign of power is patterned.

When Margaret intuitively reads with her fingers the hieroglyphics of Hatshepsut's legacy, she becomes what she reads: she becomes the hieroglyph of history partially

erased. When Rafton returns from his wandering, he hands her "some small object," an artifact within which pulsates the mythic meaning of Hatshepsut's history. Margaret appropriately wonders if it is the "green scarab beetle she had so coveted this very afternoon?" (298). With her serpentine fingers, she grasps this token eye of the sun, and "her laugh like the light answered him . . . The laughter in her throat was Greek, was Egyptian. She was uttering a sound, a song that Greek and Egypt would equally recognize," the laughter of Aphrodite and of Isis (298-99), goddesses of the morning and evening stars reclaiming their rights to the sun.

The green scarab, as I have said, pulsates with a mythic meaning tied to "The Legend of Ra and Isis." For H.D., this artifact carries within it the "mana" or invisible power of Isis which is transferred to Margaret, who receives it through the scarab. The consequences of this transference guide us to the place in H.D.'s text where she renegotiates the plot conventions which govern Budge's recension of the Book of the Dead. By positioning Margaret as the mediator of "The Legend of Ra and Isis," Margaret is able to intuit the lost history of Hatshepsut's rise to power. But in this case, the intuition occurs at the double-axis of myth and history where the Isis myth and

Hatshepsut's history are synthesized in Margaret's and Rafton's reenactment of myth and history.

Welded to the historical figure Hatshepsut, Margaret accepts the green scarab, which in turn welds her to the mythical figure Isis. Rafton gropes for her hand, a gesture which powerfully suggests Ra's blindness after surrendering to Isis his eye of the sun. When Margaret realizes that her hands are suddenly "dumb" and can no longer interpret the tracings of the hieroglyphs she touches, she seeks, in appeal and despair, "the eyes beneath the mask-shadow of [Rafton's] hat" (307). As if suddenly realizing that the transference of the scarab rendered Rafton blind and granted her vision, Margaret observes that his hand, now, rests "where a moment since hers had rested, before with that fatal serpent twist she had so pointedly withdrawn it"--an act clearly attenuated from the "Legend of Ra and Isis" when Isis restores Ra to health, but not to power.

Back at the Luxor Hotel, Margaret listens to Rafton speak in Arabic, "a curious sibilance that seemed the speech of undersea creatures to each other" (313). Responding to this sibilant speech, Margaret responds with the "siss-siss" that had claimed her in King Amenophis's burial chambers that afternoon. Her sybilline utterances "shaped . . . to some tenuous wave-shape, that shook and writhed like sea-grass under water, like sea-dragons, fish"

(314). While practicing her oral powers, she realizes the transient nature of utterance and feels herself becoming the words she speaks. She shifts her form to accommodate her words, realizing that she embodies consciousness, that she "was a fish that some sun had speckled with gold that had sunk down, down, to some unexplored region of the consciousness, that had sunk, losing in the sinking beneath wave and wave of comforting obscurity, shape, identity" (314). Margaret becomes a living hieroglyph, a fish, Xa. In her unconscious she finds memory of the missing fourteenth fragment of Osiris, the phallus of power which signals her right/rite/write of entry back into historical consciousness.

It is with Mary Page that Margaret journeys to Karnak by daylight, with Mary that she explores her new consciousness for the first time. Mary teaches her the reason she experiences such a dramatic contrast between "Sun and Moon" (330), helps her bring vision of the Sun into focus with vision of the Moon. Whereas by moonlight Margaret had become the very language she uttered in laughter and in sibilant speech, by sunlight she must now learn to see and to read herself in the colored hieroglyphs which link utterance with visionary writing. "It was Mary who had seen, most quickly understood this. . . . Blue, green, Nile green, the green of wet apple leaves. Blue,

cobalt, blue again, the burning blue fire of the iris. Isis, iris, wasn't it almost the same, Mary had said" (330). Isis, goddess of the moon and of secret utterance, is redeemed into a world of concrete language and of vision by the eye/iris of the sun. When Margaret thus reads the colors of Hatshepsut's hieroglyphic obelisk for the first time, "her eyes devoured their colors. . . . She felt flame, the movement of the throat and irridescent bird wing" (330).

At this moment, Margaret Fairwood experiences her initiation into consciousness as the synthesis between myth and history. Presaging this experience, she had witnessed two kingfishers "spread [their wings] at white heat . . . of religious fervor, of religious intensity upon these very walls" (329)--an allusion to a marked passage in Gilbert Murray's Five Stages of Greek Religion: "the amalgamation [of gods and goddesses to humans, in this case, of Hatshepsut and Isis to Margaret Fairwood] only takes place in the white heat of ecstatic philosophy or the rites of religious mysticism" (86). From this experience we can infer that in this moment when Margaret Fairwood reperceives history in terms of myth, an "amalgamation" of history and myth occurs. Though Margaret does not record her synthesis in this story, the epigraph H.D. marked in Mary Cecil's Bird Notes from the Nile and a look back to H.D.'s own "Helios and Athene" help clarify her reperception of history as an

intuitive grasp of the "soul" of the past. "The voice of the dove speaks,/" Cecil's epigraph reads, "She says, 'The world is light observe it!'" Similarly, in "Helios and Athene," H.D. had asserted that to understand the life of the past, one had to pass through the "dark places" of the mind where another kind of memory, another mode of perception could revive the soul of history in a "new approach" to myth and intuition.

H.D.'s women characters consistently re-member and re-inscribe Isis in the region of light and life, for this Egyptian goddess is the foundation of memory and protectress of all who journey the night sea towards enlightenment. H.D.'s recovery of the process of re-membering Isis' mythic story of power restores to the consciousness of her characters what other solar mythologies had repressed: namely, a matriarchal goddess. But for H.D., recovery of repressed matriarchal myths was only part of her larger project to restore mythic ties to history. In "Hesperia" and Pilate's Wife, H.D. more explicitly tries to correct an historical view of religion as patriarchal or god-centered with her mythic reperception of ancient religious artifacts as matriarchal or goddess-centered. Reperceiving the matriarchal in religious artifacts, in H.D.'s view, offers interesting possibilities for reperceiving the social construction of religion.

Notes

1. On February 1, 1923, one of the members of Lord Carnarvon's staff reported that King Tutankhamen's sandals were "among the most wonderful articles" removed from the tomb. It was expected that "in a few years' time we shall see our smartest ladies wearing footgear more or less resembling and absolutely inspired by these wonderful things" (NYT 1 Feb. 1923 3:4). King Tutankhamen's withered lotus bouquet, "symbol of the Creation and the Resurrection," was also a focus for fashion and decorative design (NYT 18 Feb. 1923: 5). Shortly after the opening of the burial chamber, it was reported that "the trademark division anticipates a decided stimulus in application for Egyptian titles as trade-marks." One source said that the "prospect indicates the Luxor wristwatch, the Khu-n-aten scarf and the Queen Thi sandal" would dominate the shops and that "pallid and unconvincing trademarks such as 'Acme,' 'Gem,' and 'Royal' will give way to 'Ramses,' 'Isis,' and 'Horus'" (NYT 22 Feb. 1923). Diminutive trademarks such as "Tut," "Tut-Tut," and "Two Tank" were also sought for "Hats, Dolls, Toys, Parasols, Jewelry and Cigarettes" (NYT 25 Feb. 1923). In an Egyptian revival of geometric design, furniture and interior design continued the avant-garde experiments made by Leger, Juan Gris, Kandinsky, Braque, and Picasso in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Hillier 52).

2. The well-established couture houses in Paris (Worth, Ducet, Lanvin, Paquin, and Poiret) were not as quick as the American Edna Woolman Chase, editor of Vogue, to capitalize on the Egyptian mode. In addition to clothing design, Vogue advertised jewelry, shoes, travel packages to Egypt, Rameses perfumes, powders and compacts, and the "Egyptian Bob." Remarkable was the editorial attempt to provide readers with an historical background in the ancient Egyptian purposes and uses of modern replicated products. In addition to advertising Butterick patterns in the Egyptian mode, The Ladies' Home Journal advertised the newly copyrighted Palmolive soap bar, which claimed that Cleopatra's beauty secret lay in "the same palm and olive oils" now available to modern women (Dec. 1923: 50). Immediately following the opening of the burial chamber, the "Hathor wrap" swept first prize at the United Cloak and Suit Designers' Association of America (NYT 25 Feb. 1923) and F. B. Patterson, Chairman of the Dress Fabric Association,

predicted a boom in the silk industry. "The exploration of an old tomb," he said, "furnished the necessary setting to change the vogue to a riot of designs and color combinations" (NYT 18 July 1925 1:G).

3. the Tutankhamen curse was among the longest-running and best-documented stories concurrent with the excavation of the tomb. After Carnarvon's death, Howard Carter largely ignored the idea of a curse in an irked response to reporters upon the occasion of opening a second season at the Tutankhamen excavation site: "It is rather too much to ask me to believe that some spook is keeping watch and ward over the dead Pharaoh," he said (NYT 4 Oct. 1923 25: 3). It was nonetheless generally believed that some "malignant influence radiating from the tomb" was responsible for a number of illnesses among those connected with the excavation (NYT 14 Apr. 1923 4:5). In February 1924, a French Egyptologist, J. S. Mardrus, added fuel to the idea of a curse in a "sensationalist statement concerning the powers protecting Tut-ankh-Amen's tomb against desecration." He further suggested that "spoken words of incantation [were] necessary to guard against . . . the pharaoh's ka, which appears to play the chief part in protecting the Pharaoh's mummy" (NYT 6 Feb. 1924 4:5). By March 28, 1926, the New York Times reported that Mardrus was "absolutely convinced that [the Egyptians] knew how to concentrate upon and around a mummy certain dynamic powers" (1:4). This news flash presaged the biggest news story on the curse when Professor Benedite, director or the Egyptian section at the Louvre, became the sixth whose death was attributed to Tutankhamen's curse (NYT "PHARAOH'S CURSE CLINGS TO HIS TOMBS" 11 Apr. 1926 IV: 3). In an interview with the Morning Post, Arthur Weigall was reported as saying that "strange things . . . have happened in connection with the Luxor excavations" (Paterson & Andrews, Mummies: Death and Life in ancient Egypt, 1978). Even as late as 1936, after the death of Egyptologist James Breasted, Professor J. Capart, head of the Royal Museum at Brussels, took the New York Times to task for printing a fabricated inscription of the Pharaoh's curse, nowhere to be found on the wall of the Luxor tomb. By now a cliche, the curse apparently ran thus: "Death shall come on swift wings to him that toucheth the tomb of the Pharaoh."

4. The earliest film versions of the curse of the mummy were La Momie du Roi (1909) followed by The mummy (1911) and Die Augen der Mumie (1918). From Karloff's version of the Mummy's curse to The Dawn of the Mummy (1980), 28 curse films were made in Egypt, India, Italy,

Mexico, Spain, West Germany, and the USA (Frank Alan, The Horror Film Handbook, 188).

5. Strange as it sounds, the first Tutankhamen novel was written by Frederick Martin Burns, a manufacturer and promoter of Tutankhamen merchandise. Inspired by media attention given the Tutankhamen excavation, he marketed the Tut trademark on everything from cigars to parasols before discovering the fiction industry was just as lucrative. With fourteen historical books on Egypt checked out of the library, Burns sat down to write a 5,000-word story with a Dime Novel title, "Tut-ankh-Amen, or The Valley of Kings, A Story of Love, Intrigue, History and Adventure." With telling modesty, Burns admitted that "I don't know anything about writing fiction, but I know how to protect myself for my purposes by throwing in plenty of love, mystery, and red-blooded material" (NYT 25 Feb. 1923). Burns' novel was followed by less colorful attempts to cash in on the Tutankhamen industry in Archie Bell's King Tut-Ankh-Amen (1923), Linda Eckstein's Tutankh-Amen (1924), Lucile Morrison's The Lost Queen of Egypt (1937), and Anthony Armstrong Willis' (pseud.) When Nile Was Young (1923). Historical novels about the reign of Akhnaten, forebear of Tutankhamen, were also popular fare in 1924: Dmitri Mereshkovsky's Akhnaton, King of Egypt and W. H. Williamson's The Panther Skin. Although she apparently did not own Mereshkovsky's Akhnaton, H.D. had two other Mereshkovsky novels in her library.

Historical novels on Nefertiti and Hatshepsut would follow the Tut glut much later with Jacqetta Hawkes' King of the Two Lands (1966) (about the monotheistic revolution and the reign of Akhnaten and Nefertiti), Emma L. Patterson's Sun Queen: Nefertiti (1967), Eloise Jarvis McGraw's Pharaoh (1958), about Queen Hatshepsut's usurpation of Pharaoh's throne, and Joan Grant's Winged Pharaoh (1938), a novel about an Egyptian Princess in 4000 B.C..

6. For a Jungian view of the feminine katabasis, see Sylvia Briton Perera's Descent to the Goddess: A Way of Initiation for Women (Toronto, Canada: Inner City Books, 1981).

7. In particular, Jane Harrison's Themis begins to go behind the patrilineal tradition of Greek mythology (498).

8. See Chapter V of Jackson Cope's Joyce's Cities: Archaeologies of the Soul (1981) where he focuses on Heliopolis as a matrix from which Joyce drew his inspiration for transmuting Egyptian archaeology into art in Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man, Ulysses, and Finnegans Wake.

Although his book was panned by the critics, Cope ably grounds Joyce's knowledge of Egypt in archaeology and Egyptological studies. Mark Troy's Mummeries of the Resurrection (1976) offers a clearer approach to pinpointing precise sources for Joyce's Egyptianisms in Finnegans Wake. In her "James Joyce East and Middle East: Literary Resonances of Judaism, Egyptology, and Indian Myth" (Journal of Modern Literature 1986), Suzette Henke parallels Joyce's esoteric studies of the Kabbalah, Egyptian Book of the Dead, Talmud, and the Koran, tracing the evolution of his work through these influential sources. Although she implies that Joyce increasingly subverts Western hegemony over Eastern and Middle Eastern religious constructs, she does not finally demonstrate this subversion by linking Joyce's more substantial women characters (Molly Bloom and Anna Livia Plurabelle) to their Egyptian foremother, Isis. In my reading of Joyce, the mother is the element of metempsychosis, of changing things into other things, of the transformation of matter, of the resolution of tension between father and son. She is always struggling to find some way in which to be interpreted or regarded. In contrast, H.D.'s Palimpsest takes up this problem of interpretation by positioning her women characters as usurpers of male power in league with Isis.

9. Explication of the matriarchal quest myth is now a well-traversed territory in H.D. criticism. The fullest, most comprehensive exploration of its manifestation is in Susan Friedman's Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), where she links H.D.'s search for the feminine principle in esoteric literatures with her search for psychic wholeness through identification with the "Goddess as Mother." Other foundation articles by Susan Friedman which explicate H.D.'s matriarchal quest are "Who Buried H.D.? A Poet, Her Critics, and Her Place in 'The Literary Tradition,'" College English, 36, 7 (1975): 801-814; "Creating a Women's Mythology: H.D.'s Helen in Egypt," Women's Studies, 5 (1977): 163-97; "Psyche Reborn: Tradition, Re-vision and the Goddess as Mother-Symbol in H.D.'s Epic Poetry," Women's Studies, 6 (1979): 147-160. Also see Rachel Blau DuPlessis's "Romantic Thralldom in H.D.," Contemporary Literature, XX 2 (1979): 178-203, where she demonstrates how H.D. revises the conventional "psychocultural" literary plots of female love and marriage by including anti-conventional plots of female quest and vocation in her writing; DuPlessis's H.D.: The Career of that Struggle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), begins a useful exploration of H.D.'s knowledge of Egyptian materials, especially as it relates to Palimpsest, 45-54.

Susan Gubar's "The Echoing Spell of H.D.'s Trilogy," Contemporary Literature, XIX, 2 (1978): 196-218; Alicia Ostriker's "The Thieves of Language: Women Poets and Revisionist Mythmaking," Signs, 8, 1 (1982): 68-90; and Claire Buck's "Freud and H.D.--Bisexuality and a Feminine Discourse," M/F, 8 (1983): 53-66; and Deborah Kelly Kloepfer's "Flesh Made Word: Maternal Inscription in H.D.," Sagetrieb, 3, 1 (Spring 1984): 27-48 all examine H.D.'s language in attempts to pinpoint sites where H.D. revises the myths of Western culture, and to expose the problematic relation between the female subject-object matrix fixed in male discourse. Worth noting, though unrelated to my approach to Palimpsest, are Melody M. Zajdel's "Portrait of an Artist as a Woman: H.D.'s Raymonde Ransom," Women's Studies, 13 (1986): 127-134, and explication of Palimpsest in Cassandra Laity's "H.D.'s Romantic Landscapes: The Sexual Politics of the Garden," Sagetrieb, 6, 2 (Fall 1987): 57-75.

10. Susan Friedman, A. Kingsley Weatherhead, and Paul Smith all give valuable but brief readings of this novel: For Friedman it is a palimpsest of "personal disaster" which records H.D.'s enslavement and betrayal by men during the years of World War I (Psyche Reborn, xiii, 6, 37, 67), for Weatherhead a stylistic experiment in stream-of-consciousness, for Smith a tripartite exempla whose palimpsestic writing process levels and layers the characters in the novel and so undercuts the construction of a fixed identity for each.

11. Only Susan Friedman makes explicit reference to E. A. Wallis Budge's translation of the Book of the Dead in her Psyche Reborn, 276, though many critics explore H.D.'s use of the Isis-Osiris myth. The Budge books from the Beinecke listing of holdings in H.D.'s library are: Cleopatra's Needles, Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics, The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life, Egyptian Literature: Annals of the Nubian Kings, Vol. III, A Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, Legends of the Gods, Osiris and the Egyptian resurrection, and The Teaching of Amenem-Apt, Son of Kanekht. I do not mean to suggest here that H.D. had expertise in the field of Egyptology or that these books were the extent of her perusals into Egyptology; only that her possession of these Budge books, and access to others, in some way conditions how we might approach her Egyptian motifs in novels of the 1920s.

12. Boats, containing the mummified bodies of the Egyptian dead (khat) seems an image H.D. uses to ferry her females into the unconscious via the sea. Leaving the boat, sloughing off the body, in Egyptian mythology, signals a coming into port, a euphemism for death (Budge, Book of the Dead, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), 69.

13. See Ostriker's "The Thieves of Language," 80-81, where she says of H.D.'s Helen in Helen in Egypt that "the spiritual seeker must accept the erotic woman within herself" in an "uncompromising inwardness." Helen must reject "all authority" which male discourse wields when it fixes women in patriarchal language patterns, as I explore in my analysis of plots in the stories of Palimpsest. The pattern I identify is etymologically based on H.D.'s concept of womb vision in which utterance precedes vision. The word uterus (hustera), linked to the word utter (husteros) by a common Greek root, huster- suggests that H.D. conceived of female higher consciousness as primarily oracular and secondarily ocular.

14. See Brian Brown's definition of Fish in The Wisdom of the Egyptians: "The Fish talisman is a symbol of Hathor--who controlled the rising of the Nile--as well as an amulet under the influence of Isis and Horus. It typified the primeval creative principle and was worn for domestic felicity, abundance, and general prosperity" (258). Though H.D. did not mark the passage, it is clear from many other marked passages that H.D. read Brown's book with some care.

15. See the definition of "Serpents" in Broderick's A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology: "They were enemies of the sun-god, opposing his progress during his journey through the underworld through the twelve hours of night" (159-60).

16. Budge, The Book of the Dead, 1967, 257.

17. See Brown's Wisdom of the Egyptians where H.D. makes a marginal note by "KHEPERA" who "has no local importance, but is named as the morning sun. He was worshipped about the time of the nineteenth dynasty" (88).

18. See Claire Buck's "Freud and H.D.," 57 ff., where she gives a Lacanian reading of the "mirror stage" in the construction of H.D.'s identity. clearly, the intent of my interpretation limits the vocabulary of my analysis to H.D.'s own formulation of "mirrors" as the psychic lenses of womb vision.

19. While I agree with Weatherhead's view that Hipparchia balances between the precision of her Greek values and the fluidity of the Egyptian values she is drawn to, I do disagree with his casual dismissal of Hipparchia's re-commitment to poetry at the end of the story, as my essay indicates.

20. See Brown's Wisdom of the Egyptians where H.D. pencils "mutter" in the margin next to "Mut, the Great Mother, was the goddess of Thebes, and hence the consort of Amon. She is often shown as leading and protecting the kings, and the queens appear in the character of this goddess. Little is known about her otherwise" (83).

21. See Broderick's definition of "Amber" (7), the sign of daughtership with Aton.

22. See "H.D. by Delia Alton" in The Iowa Review where H.D. notes that the "Margaret" of "Hesperia" is the same as the Helen of "Secret Name" (219). To avoid confusion and to honor H.D.'s wish that the Helen of "Secret Name" be changed to "Margaret," I have used the name "Margaret Fairwood" for the sake of consistency.

23. See Margaret Murray's Ancient Egyptian Legends 1920) where she notes that "The Book of Am Duat is found . . . on [the] tombwalls . . . of Amenhotep of the XVIIIth dynasty." This would be the tomb of Amenophis II on whose walls Margaret Fairwood remarked "This all along is pieces from The Book of the Dead." According to Murray, the "fourth and fifth countries of the Duat are obviously one complete kingdom, ruled by the god Sokar, the Memphite god of the dead. As Memphis was a very important religious center, its god of the dead and his kingdom had to be included in the Duat of Ra, in spite of the fact that it was a waterless desert, and that it ended with the morning star" (114-15). H.D.'s allusion to a waterless desert locates Margaret's night sea journey in the kingdom of Memphis and prepares for her vision of the morning star in "Hesperia."

24. The importance of Hatshepsut to H.D. must have been well-known to her friend Bhaduri, who enclosed a "Metropolitan postcard of Queen Hatshepsu seated" along with the gift of Evelyn Eaton's The Hours of Isis (1930) and a letter: "To Hilda w/ all love and greetings for Christmas and the New Year [1940-44?]. May the hours of Isis bless you. Arthur' n.d. but during war years" (inscribed on p. 72 of Hours of Isis).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORICAL DISPERSION OF THE SEARCH FOR THE ETERNAL LOVER: EGYPT AND CRETE

> This Isis takes many forms, as does Osiris.
> "H.D., by Delia Alton"

Re-membering the search for the scattered body of Osiris continues to be a predominant mythic pattern in H.D.'s work after Palimpsest. "Hesperia" (1934) and "Pilate's Wife" (1934)[1] reflect H.D.'s commitment to reinscribe again and again the paradigmatic story that "all women are seeking, as one woman, fragments of the Eternal Lover" (HDDA 181). Read together, these two works form a palimpsest upon which H.D. reinscribes the syncretic development of Isis' story. They also form a matrix of archaeology, history, and mythology that allows H.D. to demonstrate her characters' ability to remake history within the frameworks of myth. This chapter argues that the recovery of the Isis myth in "Hesperia" and "Pilate's Wife" enables H.D.'s characters to reenact the historical dispersion of the Isis myth from Egypt, to Crete, and to Greece.

These two unpublished works place us close to H.D.'s largely unedited thinkings about the relationship between

myth and religious history. In these two stories, H.D. explicitly ties the narrative conventions of the Isis myth to the religious practices of the Isis cult. When I suggest that these stories show us how H.D. manages the remaking of history within the frameworks of myth, I mean to suggest, as Harrison does in Themis, that ritual practices evolve into myths, and myths into religions where the social constructions of history appear to be matrilineal rather than patrilineal. If in her textual reconstructions of myth and religious history H.D. can effect a change at the level of ritual practice, then it should follow that the kind of myths and religions that evolve from it could have a significant effect on how we perceive the narrative conventions of myth and the social constructions of religious history. In a way that extends her practice of Imagism into narrative form, H.D. helps us to reperceive or intuit something about the making of history that our intellects prevent us from understanding. Thus, when I assert that her characters "remake" history I do not mean to suggest that H.D. is an historian with secret facts never before revealed; only that through her characters' reenactments of ritual and myth as religious history we may reperceive the social construction of religion as rooted in the idea of the dispersion of the Isis myth.

"Perhaps dispersion is the key-word," H.D. writes in "H.D. by Delia Alton" (184), referring to the thematic search for the Eternal Lover beyond Egypt. Certainly the paradigm of Isis's search for the scattered fragments of Osiris is a mythic model H.D. urges her critics to use in regathering and reassessing the intercultural/intertextual matrix of the dispersion of spiritual wisdom. H.D.'s modernism, Susan Stanford Friedman asserts, was "not of an alienated elite, but of what she variously called 'the dispersed', the 'scattered remnant', the 'wandering', the 'reviled', and the 'lost'" (Friedman, "H.D.'s Diaspora" 34). Her own expatriation from America served as a "spatial metaphor, a geographic manifestation of a more fundamental exile from convention" (Friedman 33). Operating outside the conventions of Western thought and Western stories, H.D. relocates her stories and her characters to ancient geographies where the psychic quest for the Eternal Lover is enacted on the "margins," the "borders" of Eastern and Western thought. As Friedman says, "a geographic borderline serves as a spatial metaphor for racial and psychological marginality, the state of being perpetually alien, decentered at the fringes of the mainstream--like the women, Jews, and commoners in Virginia Woolf's 'Society of Outsiders' in Three Guineas" (Friedman 33), or like Margaret

Fairwood, Veronica, Mnevis, Memnonius, Fabius, and Christ in H.D.'s "Hesperia" and Pilate's Wife.

But H.D.'s use of the term "dispersion," rich with connotations of the Jewish Diaspora in Assyria and Babylon in 722 and 597 B.C. and again later throughout the Roman Empire, suggests, as well, the historical hope of the mythic search, the great expectation of some sacred cycle being repeated, of some divine lover returning, of some dispersed story being regathered into an original unity through the events of history. The geography of "Hesperia" and Pilate's Wife also has important associations with archaeology in Egypt and Crete. In this respect, the psychic geographies of her characters relocated to these archaeological sites offer them opportunities to exhume mythic ideas repressed in their memories. But it is important to remember that H.D. was writing during a cultural moment when there was cultural interest in reconstructing the religious history of the past.

Archaeologists since the turn of the century had been attempting to correlate the cross-cultural data of exhumed artifacts to find the centers of power in the Aegean. During the 1920s and early 1930s, when H.D. was drafting "Hesperia" and Pilate's Wife, there was a particular archaeological interest in examining connections between those cultures: Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Crete,

and Greece. H.D.'s reading in the 1920s, especially evidenced by her review of Bell's Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean (Adelphi IV [Aug 1926]: 137), and her careful reading of Gustave Glotz's The Aegean Civilization and Arthur Weigall's The Paganism in Our Christianity, reflect her interest in examining those connections, as well. News accounts of the interrelationships between the Bible, Babylon, and Egypt in the early 1930s indicated a new erudition in biblical studies which sought to reveal religious connections between cultures in the same way archaeologists were seeking to establish commercial and mythic connections. H.D. was obviously influenced and excited by this new emphasis on syncretism. Her own attempts to reexamine the syncretic links between cultures in the Aegean are focused by her use of the Isis myth. For H.D., this myth, which has within it the seeds of the idea of dispersion, provides an important link to the historical dispersion of matriarchal religion beyond Egypt.

"Hesperia"

H.D. wrote "Hesperia" eight years after Palimpsest was published. She intended it to be a sequel to "Secret Name," assembling it from notes taken on her journey from Luxor to the Aswan Dam February 7-12, 1923. The story derives its atmosphere from local hysteria concerning Tutankhamen's curse and Dr. Mardrus' proposal that the curse might be

abated by propitiating the Pharaoh's ka (New York Times 28 Mar 1926 1: 4). In this story, H.D. implies that Tutankhamen's ka has been reborn in one of the many forms of Osiris: Captain Rafton. Though Rafton never makes a formal appearance in this story, it is clear from the context that he has left Luxor for Aswan ahead of Margaret Fairwood. They "meet" again in spirit at the scene of the submerged Kiosk of Trajan ("Pharaoh's Bed") and the Temple of Isis at Philae, where Osiris was buried and where "light was worshipped equally with darkness" ("H" 20).[2]

Like Isis, who in the Bodge-Grafton version of solar mythology remains in darkness while Osiris-Ra travels in the solar bark by day, Margaret Fairwood parts company with Rafton at daybreak in the hall of the Luxor Hotel. "The formula is established," H.D. writes in 1949.

> She [Margaret] knows that to keep him, she must lose him. She does not know how she knows this. But the seal is set on her knowledge. She can not know that she knows this, until she has progressively retraced her steps, redeemed not so much the fragments of Osiris, as of his sister, twin or double, the drowned or submerged Isis. (HDDA 181-82)

In her criticism of her work, H.D. indicates that she uses the Isis myth in "Hesperia" to create the narrative framework of the story. But it is Margaret's reenactment of the mythic pattern that prepares for H.D.'s interpolations of myth into history. Mary Page, who had escorted Margaret Fairwood to the Luxor tombs by sunlight at the end of

"Secret Name," plays a similar role in "Hesperia," escorting Margaret to the Aswan Dam as well. Mary proposes that Margaret travel with her and her family to Aswan on the Rosetta, the name of the ship H.D. herself took to Aswan. Rafton has secured passage on the Hesperia ahead of them. Margaret senses that Mary offers her an opportunity to pursue her relationship with Rafton, and yields to the invitation. It is significant that Rafton, rather than Margaret, is granted passage on the Hesperia, for his position in the boat journeying towards rebirth aligns with the night sea journey underlying the story. It is significant, too, that Margaret Fairwood follows in the Rosetta, because in doing so she emulates Isis of the Book of the Dead. This, in any case, is the conventional narrative from Budge's recension.

Margaret's focus at a point in the story above Aswan is the submerged Temple of Isis at Philae. This was an important mythological site where Isis buried Osiris, bidding him goodbye as he journeyed the morning and afternoon sky in the solar barque while she remained behind, in darkness, at the threshold of dawn and prepared to greet him for his night sea journey at midnight. The Temple of Isis was also an important archaeological site in the late 1920s. "Hesperia" derives much of its detail from media accounts of government proposals to build a higher dam at

Aswan in 1929 which would submerge both the Kiosk of Trajan and the Temple of Isis. The new dam would supercede the 1902 and 1912 dams by flooding a larger territory for a longer period of time, from October to July each year. According to Fitzhugh Minnigerode, feature writer for the New York Times, "Egyptologists, archaeologists and lovers of the old and beautiful generally resent[ed] this further drowning" of Egypt's ancient monuments ("Old Temples of Philae" 1 [Sept. 1929] V 16: 1).

When the Rosetta stops at the Temple of Isis at Philae during a sandstorm, Margaret peers through the glassy screen of sand at the "images of the temples." She sees the Isis statue

> with moon over eternal forehead, static, with side-posture. . . . Here, however, there were no moonlight excursions and except, that all things seemed related to some other sphere of sun and shadow, there were no "dimensional" (or should she say "demented"?) super-series of impressions. Temple and statue stood out against the somewhat irritated surface of her underlids, formal drawing, art-school design, Isis on a sheet of drawing-paper, the pylons, draughtsmen's samples in History of Art or History of Architecture. ("H" 11)

Viewed by daylight, with the "eye of the sun" which recalls the scarab Rafton had given her, Isis seems flat, superficial, irritating, like a traditional drawing, two-dimensional. Lifeless. Yet the "moon over eternal forehead" helps Margaret recall the "criptic [sic] power" of the black opal bracelet she had also received from Rafton

the previous day, and it provides Margaret with another perspective from which she will later view the Temple of Isis by moonlight.

Such archaeological and journalistic details are mythologically framed in H.D.'s story. It is significant that Captain Rafton, an engineer employed in constructing the new dam, functions as an Osiris figure in "Hesperia." In H.D.'s reframing of history with myth here, Rafton, like Osiris, is responsible for the annual (albeit engineered) inundation of the Nile floodplain which regenerates the parched land. Margaret Fairwood's history, too, is reframed by myth in her dual perception of the dam. On the one hand, the historical fact of the dam is responsible for the submersion of sacred monuments like the Temple of Isis. On the other hand, it is possible for Margaret Fairwood to intuit the sacred in her reperception of the vulgar shops, bazaars, and markets of Aswan as evidence of the mythical regeneration of the Nile basin. In fact, this reframing causes her to reevaluate the great dam: the "great-dam itself, seemed no longer an atrocity, submerging Isis and the island, Philae," Margaret thinks ("H" 17).

At Aswan, Margaret's repressed memory of the story of "Ra and Isis" and her related vision of the birth house at Luxor threaten to be equally submerged by history while she waits, like Plutarch's and Budge's Isis, for the

conventional appearance of Rafton/Osiris. Her memory of an unconventional story, however, will emerge together with the artifacts of power Isis wields in "Ra and Isis." The serpent-stylus, and the eyes of the sun and moon which grant Margaret the vision of an Isis initiate, will allow Margaret to re-see Isis' place in mythology, to re-member it, and to rewrite her journey as homologous with the historical journey of religious dispersion. Margaret Fairwood envisions this mytho-historical journey as Isis' search for the Eternal Lover "scattered not only along [the] Nile river, but along all mud-banks and sand-banks from Liverpool to Tank-town Montana" ("H" 31).

The cumulative effect of Margaret Fairwood's mytho-historical remembrances identifies the manner in which H.D. fuses scattered memories into new wholes. This writing technique reveals the very heart of H.D.'s transmutation of archaeological fragments into mythological reconstructions. Beginning with the excavated tombs at Luxor, Margaret begins to fuse the "pieces from The Book of the Dead" painted on the tomb walls with her remembrance of the seemingly blinded Captain Rafton: "How did you know your way in the darkness?" she wonders. <u>How</u> Rafton knew his way in the dark, especially after Margaret had figuratively received both eye of the sun and moon from him, is a puzzle she is at

pains to piece together. Almost more puzzling is where he is now, at Aswan.

One clue to the puzzle lay in H.D.'s displacement of the ritualistic artifacts of power from Ra to Isis. This displacement in ritual alters how H.D. reconstructs matriarchal myth from Budge's more conventional patriarchal recension. At Aswan, in fact, Margaret notices that "she wanted hands of iron to break his [Rafton's] knees like iron slave-fingers, tearing down outgrown effigies from temples" (3)--her unconscious desire as an Isis initiate to destroy the hegemony of a religion based on Ra's, rather than Isis', place in the sunboat? Her desire to avenge the effacement of Hatshepsut's historical designation in kingly attire in the temple at Dier el Bahari? More, H.D.'s conscious construction of a fictional character who can serve as a medium for reenacting the Isis myth as the historical source for religious dispersion?

Other ritualistic artifacts--ink and parchment--signal H.D.'s rewriting of mythic conventions and her character's interpolation of the Isis myth into the history of dispersion resulting in the Isis cult. Later in "Hesperia," Margaret Fairwood recognizes the power of her hands to spell with ink and parchment the secret name which will both explain where Rafton is and recall the memory of Isis' self-creative power. Docked at Aswan and waiting for him in her

stateroom, Margaret "drew paper toward her, poised pen, noted the letterhead, Cataract Hotel and a tiny seal of scarab, papyrus and lotus-bud.[3] . . . I am at Aswan. . . . My dear, where are you? Under the trees there is fragrance as if you were there" ("H" 21). In Plutarch's story,

> the coffer containing the body of Osiris had floated down the river and away out to sea, till at last it drifted ashore at Byblus, on the coast of Syria. Here a fine erica-tree shot up suddenly and enclosed the chest in its trunk. . . . Word of this came to Isis and she journeyed to Byblus. (Frazer 423)

H.D. places Margaret in Aswan, a place which marks Isis' final burial of Osiris rather than the beginning of her search for him. The beginning of the journey is recalled, however, in Margaret's recollection of Rafton's/Osiris' association with trees. However, the "fragrance" which alerted the King and Queen of Byblus to the presence of Isis here presages Margaret's knowledge of the presence of Isis at Aswan. H.D.'s imaginative displacement of Plutarch's story from the mythic past of Byblus to the historical present of Aswan, and the fragrance associated with Isis rather than Osiris, combine so that Margaret's invocation to "My dear" becomes her unconscious invocation to Isis rather than to Rafton/Osiris.

Margaret Fairwood's written invocation to Isis begins another series of superimpositions of archaeology, history, and myth. Though she does not know how she knows, Margaret intuits that if she meets Rafton again, she will surely die,

her emerging memory of Isis, of herself, will surely be obliterated by the more conventional memory of Osiris reborn and Isis relegated to the regions of death and darkness. Continuing to write on the letterhead paper from the Cataract Hotel, Margaret invokes the presence of Rafton/Osiris on one level of consciousness, but on another, a presence emerges on paper which has a "secret name" Margaret can not identify. She writes,

> It would be anti-climax if you came now. Come now. . . . Her pen, she noted, had drawn irrelevant words, the words twisted back at her, strange letter-pattern, come now? Her poised pen moved forward, to cross out the letters, so strangely flowing, as if they had been written for her. . . . It was written automatically, as if she had not done it. She couldn't cross it out. ("H" 23)

At Aswan, memory of "Ra and Isis" will not be obliterated, will not be "crossed out." The "strange letter-pattern" of "come now"[4] resonates with the "siss-siss" of sibilant speech which marked Margaret's vision of the birth house at the Luxor tombs the previous evening. Significantly, at this moment, Margaret's desire to mail her letter to Rafton is foiled by Mary Page's news that the Rosetta must set sail from Aswan due to local hysteria surrounding the opening of Tutankhamen's tomb. This is a characteristic instance where H.D. allows historical details to erupt into the everyday course of events. Margaret Fairwood will not meet Rafton/Osiris at Aswan, after all, and this fact creates the possibility of a reconfiguration of H.D.'s mythic framework:

Margaret Fairwood herself may meet Isis instead of Osiris. The return journey, at midnight, takes Margaret back past the submerged temple of Isis at Philae: a temple significant to initiates of the Cult of Isis, for "the spending of nights in the temple of Isis was a common occurrence among Isiac devotees, for Isis was known to appear in dreams and call future initiates that way" (Heyob 59; Frommer 149).

The moon rising over the Nile reveals the power of the submerged Temple of Isis at Philae in a new light--moonlight. Seeing the moon reflected on the water, Margaret reperceives that "the day was resuscitated, a flower-stem in water" like the "heart of a moonflower" she had felt drawn into the previous midnight among the Luxor tombs ("H" 16). She realizes that to "watch this sweep of moonlight, was to become alive, herself resurrected" ("H" 16-17). Voices of passengers engaged in conversation chorically and subliminally inform her of the mytho-historical meaning of her changed perception: the Isis Temple, the voices repeat, was "the only temple where light was worshipped equally with darkness" ("H" 20). As such, it could only be "seen" by one gifted with (or possessing the gifts of) the eye of the sun and the eye of the moon (the scarab and the black opal bracelet).

Although Margaret Fairwood had been disappointed with the Temple of Isis by daylight, "drenched and drab, half-drowned and faded, rising from swollen water" (27), it is by moonlight that the curtain partitioning unconsciousness from consciousness parts and allows a visionary fusion of history and myth, what H.D. calls "two fields of vision . . . two streams or realms of knowledge or consciousness . . . (the time element and the dream or ideal element)" (HDDA 185, 221). There is a similar passage in The Gift where H.D. describes the action of dream:

> it would be possible with time and with the curious chemical constituents of biological or psychic thought-processes--whatever thought is, nobody yet knows--to develop single photographs or to develop long strips of continuous photographs, stored in the dark-room of memory. . . . the process . . . is a secret one. . . . Because one really does not quite know how it works, when it will work or how long it will continue to work, once it is started. The store of images and pictures is endless and is the common property of the whole race. ("Dark Room" from The Gift, Montemora 5 [1987]: 75-76)

This submerged archaeological monument triggers Margaret's unconscious memory of something related to her journey to Aswan. Prior to her vision, Margaret had been able to perceive the motive of her journey to Aswan, to Philae, only in conventional terms: she had thought she would meet Rafton there; she had thought herself in some "traditional" relationship with him; she had thought, from her research into Graeco-Roman fragments for Bodge-Grafton, that "Philae was all but drowned beneath the Nile, a drowned

temple for a dead goddess" (28). "Isis was dethroned from the dam, above Philae," Margaret muses. But Mary reminds her that Osiris, not Isis, "was buried here at Philae"--a comment which allows Margaret to reperceive the monument as a birth house and Mary's invitation to journey to Philae as a call to initiation into the mysteries of Isis (31, emphasis added).

In the Rosetta's journey across the Nile in the dark of night, Margaret does not fully recognize that she is enacting a variation of the Book of the Dead. What she does not intuit yet is that she is traveling through what Margaret Murray describes as the last hour of darkness "represented as a dark and tortuous passage symbolising the womb of the goddess," Isis, who has been dethroned, according to Margaret Fairwood, by the Aswan Dam and, by extension, Rafton's complicity in building it (Ancient Egyptian Legends 116). These temples--the birth house projected by her imagination, and the Temple of Isis at Philae submerged in the Nile--fuse with an extraordinary power typical of H.D.'s ability to compress complex spiritual ideas into a single moment and to condense their expression in a single image: a lightbulb-shaped "luminous light, such as you get at dawn, pre-dawn" (36).[5]

H.D.'s sources help us decode the mythological significance of the "luminous light." According to Margaret

Murray, there were two Morning Stars in Budge's compilation of The Book of the Dead. One shines at the end of the "waterless desert" of the Kingdom of Memphis, where Margaret Fairwood presumably has her first vision of the birth house at Luxor. Another Morning Star appears "in the tenth hour [3 a.m.], and the breeze of morning seems to be felt by the goddesses in the eleventh hour, for they raise their hands to shelter their faces from it" (Ancient Egyptian Legends 116). It is the second Morning Star which backgrounds H.D.'s reconstruction of Margaret Fairwood's rebirth into spiritual consciousness at Philae.

> "All she saw was one star, luminous in the east." But the star was revealed by an outside presence, an invisible agent had drawn aside the curtains of her state-room, but in no vague or shadowy manner. The curtain-rings rattled on the curtain-pole, there was no wind. It was supernaturally quiet. She saw the star, was paralyzed or illuminated by the spears of light. The curtains were drawn back.
>
> But who drew the curtains? Who in the Amen-temple, projected the "picture" of the Birth House? (HDDA 207)

In her moment of initiation/insertion into Isis' story of self-creation, H.D. notes that Margaret is alone "in the presence of the Infinite" (HDDA 207). The "spears of light" recall the myth of "Ra and Isis," particularly Isis' serpent-spear which robs Ra both of his sight and of his position in the sun boat. In the transmission of Isis' powers of perception to Margaret via the "spears of light,"

Margaret is herself "fully expressed" in her fusion with Isis at Philae (HDDA 207).

Having dived deep into her unconscious for the memory of Isis, Margaret's vision of the Morning Star signifies her initiation into the Cult of Isis and her rebirth into higher consciousness. A marked passage in William Loftus Hare's Mysticism of East and West provides a clue to Margaret's vision of/fusion with Isis: "Religion may be conceived of as none other than this return journey of the human soul to its source" (22). The source, in H.D.'s reperception of that journey, is the repressed memory of women's place in myth and history. It is the submerged memory of Isis, the "grande-dame" of the Nile; the effaced name of Hatshepsut in the temple of Dier el Bahari; the eclipsed reign of Nefertiti in the temple of the sun-disk. The knowledge H.D.'s Margaret Fairwood has attained is not strictly through history, nor through brain-vision of the Bodge-Grafton variety, but through H.D.'s feminine recension of myth, through womb-vision and heart vision. Her knowledge comes not through the intellectual process Hare articulates as "conjecture, or opinion or a syllogistic process," but through "pure and faultless intuitions which the soul receive[s] in Eternity from the Gods in virtue of being conjoined to them" (300 ff, emphasis added)--an idea very

close to Bergson's notion of intuition and H.D.'s of reperception (see Chapter 2).

Margaret Fairwood's experience of fusion with Isis clearly departs from a Budgean recension of the story of Isis and Osiris. "Isis wept here for Osiris," Margaret remembers with brain-vision; "the guide-book said, he was buried there at Philae" (38). Yet with womb-vision, she intuits how women's stories of power were scattered from Egypt when Isis was dethroned by the Aswan Dam, Hatshepsut by Tuthmose III, and Nefertiti by Tutankhamen. She senses the diffusion of Isis through racial memory and is impelled towards a radically new journey not on the S. S. Rosetta which brought her to Aswan, but on the Hesperia in some newly recognized relationship with Mrs. Thorpe-Wharton and Mary Page, women companions with whom she will reconstruct Isis' historical dispersion to "a mythical country," to the goddess of the Morning Star. "I'm trying to remember something," Margaret says to Mary.

> "Oh yes, tell your mother, I'll come back . . . on that boat . . ." It was a name she was trying to remember . . . de luxe steamship appurtenances mixed oddly with other word-reactions. Hesperia was the name, wasn't it, of a mythical country, some Garden with golden apples . . . or was it a star merely? ("H" 40)

In other fragments of memory scattered throughout the story, H.D. allows both Margaret Fairwood and her readers to piece together almost infinite variations on the theme of

Isis' search for scattered fragments not of Osiris, but of initiates of Isis scattered throughout the world. In many respects, H.D. departs from Plutarch's and Budge's version of the myth by suggesting alternative ways to interpret the role of Isis in guiding the sun boat to sunrise and the role of myth in directing the historical dispersion of the cult of Isis beyond Egypt. In "H.D. by Delia Alton," H.D. states that "Hesperia" goes beyond the "formula" of Osiris leaving Isis behind in darkness at the threshold of dawn (DA 181). Although her journey to Aswan retraces Isis' journey up the Nile to re-member Osiris' broken body, H.D.'s Margaret Fairwood journeys to Philae to remember "not so much the fragments of Osiris[/Rafton], as of his sister, twin or double, the drowned or submerged Isis[/herself/Mary Page/all women]" (182).

"Hesperia" thus recollects a collage of remembered fragments of Isis' story. H.D.'s writing reconstructs the very process of recollection in an act which recollects her own writing: there is the remembered map of Africa on which Miss Helen had pasted magazine pictures of Egypt (12), there is the remembered parallel between the Nile and the Mississippi Rivers (9), both relocated fragments from The Gift. Beneath these memories lay deeper memories which the Temple of Isis evokes for Margaret Fairwood. Because deeper, these memories are more elusive and vague, more in

need of excavation and interpretation: there is the remembered vision of a projected birth house or mammisi[6] at Luxor relocated from "Secret Name" and there is the remembered Egyptian legacy that "Isis had retained permanence . . . . Race scattered, lost, is never lost entirely. Race, seeking its advantage, may sweep across continents, Isis still does live in Arizona" (29). Never having realized the meaning of her earlier spiritual rebirth at the Temple of Hatshepsut, Margaret Fairwood must now look to her companion Mary Page, as Raymonde of "Murex" had looked to Ermy, for a shattered reflection of "the decorum and the ruthlessness of the American virgin," the American Isis Mary embodies. She, rather than Osiris/Rafton, reveals to Margaret her own drowned memory of Isis' usurpation of Ra's sunboat, for Mary/Isis--Margaret's twin or double--has usurped Rafton's/Osiris' position in our reperceived and Margaret's reenacted story of the search for the Eternal Lover (29).

"Pilate's Wife"

In her "Author's Note" to "Pilate's Wife," H.D. announces that "This theme is no new one." H.D. again takes up the theme of the search for the Eternal Lover. It is curious that H.D. might have called Pilate's Wife "Christ in Cyprus," and that she wanted to "entirely disassociate in my mind, this Veronica [Pilate's wife, her central character],

from the Veronica of church tradition"--curious, that is, because she crosses both out, attempts to erase those associations exactly in the manner of a palimpsest. And in the manner of a palimpsest, the surface of the novel persistently hides a "mystery"[7] at the heart of the novel which the reader and the novel's central characters are attempting to uncover and reveal. Appropriately, it is a mystery partially revealed in H.D.'s attempted erasures of her fictive constructions of myth--"Christ in Cyprus"--and the social constructions of history--"Veronica of church tradition." For although H.D. appears to "conform to the traditional rendering of the Gospels," it is the woman, (Veronica both of church tradition and H.D.'s imaginative revision of her into myth), who gets highlighted while Christ is sent packing off to Cyprus or Crete.

In "Pilate's Wife," the theme of the search for the Eternal Lover becomes palimpsestic, involving a cultural matrix of Egyptian and Cretan myth and history. The novel is set in Jerusalem at the time of the Roman occupation and in the season of ritual renewal observed by a number of religious cults: the Osiris cult, the Isis cult, the Cretan cult of Asterios, and the Mithraic cult. The atmosphere of the novel is tense with intellectual discussion among characters attempting to explain their various religious affiliations to one another. These discussions result in an

almost simultaneous discovery among the characters that their religious cults celebrate only parts of a larger, older ritual search that has been scattered, whose whole has been fragmented and parceled among them.

They are all searching separately for the same thing: an Eternal Lover. The threat of a "new [Christian] religion" taking shape in an atmosphere already rife with seemingly divergent religious fashions ironically serves as a point of syncretic convergence among the characters. It is Veronica who, near the end of the novel, is at the brink of solving the problem of religious dispersion, of gathering the scattered philosophies of the cults into a unified whole. Just as Isis piecing together the scattered body of Osiris makes possible the birth of Horus, and the Ten Tribes of Israel reuniting in the homeland makes possible the coming of the Messiah, so too does Veronica at the brink of remembering the old story of Isis make possible its rebirth and subsequent dispersion--to Crete, presumably, (or Cyprus) with Christ assuming the role of Asterios, a transplanted Osiris.

Although H.D. conveniently names her sources for "Pilate's Wife"--Arthur Weigall's The Paganism in Our Christianity and Gustave Glotz's The Aegean Civilization--William Loftus Hare's Mysticism of East and West (1923) helps explain the philosophy of a unified search which

structures the multiple searches undertaken by her characters:

> For even supposing there had been in very ancient times an original deposit of wisdom, placed in the hands of the leaders of the human race, and that this had become broken, corrupted and partially lost, the work of collecting its remnants, regaining by various means some of the beauties assumed to belong to the whole body of Divine Wisdom, would be the upward movement [of the soul] in question, by the critical and historical method. . . . we need an Inward Theory which explains Religion. . . . Religion is not handed down from heaven nor has it grown up from the mud; it is itself the inmost process of the journey of the soul. (Hare 26; underlinings indicate H.D.'s marginal pencil-marks)

"Pilate's Wife" can thus be viewed as the inward movements of the characters' souls which, operating together, help reconstitute the unity of an "original deposit of wisdom." But the outward manifestations of those movements, seen through H.D.'s consideration of various cults, help the reader reperceive Isis' story as an inward, unifying struggle Veronica carries on within herself. Consequently, H.D. must manipulate historical ethnic and religious diversity as an outward way of revealing inward currents of thought involved in mythic unity.

"Pilate's Wife" opens on a scene with Veronica, alone in her boudoir. H.D.'s presentation of her is rhetorical rather than dramatic, and Veronica's name, like her life, seems hard as stone, cryptic.

> Names held small part in her consideration, yet she spelled her own arduously, sensing, in its hard and pebble-like lustre, some unknown element. She said again, "Veronica, I am Veronica" . . . Veronica, the

> wife of the Roman consul-general [Pontius Pilate], arch-legate and Vice-governor, so whispering, "Veronica," sensed a hard substance . . . blood-agate,[8] blood and agate and the rush of water over moss-agate . . . Veronica. (1)

The inner life of her name, trapped as if in stone, is symptomatic of her larger entombment in a loveless marriage. Her boudoir is a mausoleum, what H.D. refers to in "H.D. by Delia Alton" as an "alabaster-box" which suggests "the various findings of the Tomb [of Tutankhamen], and the painted ceiling recalls the miraculously preserved decoration of ancient Egypt. Even Veronica herself distantly resembles the well-known Nefertiti portrait" (HDDA 182). Entombed by an Egyptianized environment and identified with the stone bust of an ancient Egyptian Queen, Veronica appears dead in this life, surrounded by artifacts customarily placed in tombs to propitiate the ka, "a kind of spiritual double" replicated in statues "for the ka to inhabit when the body was dead and mummified."[9] Viewing her artifacts as facts accumulated through years of marriage, Veronica "could measure her years, their success, their failure by these treasures" (4).

Although Veronica is rhetorically entombed in a manner reminiscent of H.D.'s Imagist style, H.D. allows us to intuit some mystery operating beneath the descriptive lapidary surfaces and ornamental aspects of her person and environment. She is half: a "half-and-half-world

prophetess," a "half-tamed wild-bird," a woman half-arrived within the confines of exposition (2-3). On the one hand, her room is described as a tomb, "cold . . . like its mistress" (4). On the other, it is a room inhabited by the spirit of an inner life:

> A small animal clung, indifferent to the world about it, to a curtain in this lady's bedroom. It was a cat or a marmot or a monkey.[10] No one seemed to know what it was. It was more like an insect, with sudden darting movements, or owl with wings folded over downy feathers. Veronica's room could be measured by this vivid presence. . . . It was a dead room, or would have been a dead room but for the living pulse of this odd creature. It leapt from the curtain now and hunched against a kohl-box on the dressing table. It was like a soft cocoon, from which a butterfly or a night-moth might wing out. (4)

Veronica names the animal "Bes, from that least god of the Egyptian hierarchy" (9a), a figure which "frequently decorates Egyptian articles of toilet" (Broderick 33). But Broderick notes that "Bes" has a more complicated significance, identified variously with evil, with birth houses, music, and war (Broderick 32-33). H.D.'s similes for Bes--he is like an insect, an owl, a cocoon, a butterfly, a night-moth--suggest, however, that she views him as a spirit associated with birth houses, for he is likened to images involved in transformations, and his eyes which "saw almost nothing in the daylight . . . had given it a reputation for unusual wisdom" (6).

Veronica's tomb-like room, inhabited by such a spirit, suggests that she, too, is involved in a transformation, a

spiritual initiation into wisdom. Veronica may become something other if she recognizes her entombment as transitional, as preparation for a role greater than Pilate's wife; if she recognizes the "vera icon (true image)"[11] of an Eternal Lover (Isis displaces Christ, in this story) as more compelling than the current religious fashions of Jerusalem. H.D. indicates that her method of recension transforms myth into history, for the historical search for the Eternal Lover she constructs is often animated by mythic correspondences with an inner spiritual search for Isis.

Presently, however, her spiritual search for the Eternal Lover is structured by the paradigms of human love and religious diversity. Marriage to Pilate is what holds her spirit--"He was the monster to which her spirit, that pearl, clung really" (6). Her frequent allusions to "Monster" in connection with Cretan myth suggests that Veronica's spirit is in precisely the same relationship to Pilate that Ariadne was to Minos. Sensing herself trapped in the labyrinth of her psyche, Veronica gestures outwardly to lovers who might release that spirit: Fabius Nobilior, her "favorite [Roman] centurion of the moment," and Memnonius, "from the lower none of Egypt" (6). Fabius and Veronica are not so much intimate, as publicly and politically intertwined. Memnonius, to whom Veronica is

spiritually attuned but from whom she is physically estranged, offers contrast to Fabius. Whereas Fabius had been all intellect and surface, Memnonius was "abstract, logical, literate, illuminated"--all spirit.

With Memnonius, Veronica's search for the Eternal Lover takes a spiritual rather than intellectual or sexual turn. She is emotionally dead, yet Memnonius perceives some dormant wisdom in her Bes-like eyes, some kinship with Horus, eye of the sun. Likening her eyes to "Nile buds" with "roots of amber" that "rise on thin stems, toward sunlight," Memnonius nonetheless perceives that she is not yet ready for spiritual transformation, not yet ready for movement out her dormant state (18). "You have not risen," he states, warning her that without instruction, the unconscious wisdom her eyes possess may "wither" rather than bloom (18). And so Memnonius brings Veronica lilies, Isis' flower, in hopes they will remind her of the power of her own unifying wisdom, and he likens her "again to a Nile flower, infolded. He wanted, he said, these flowers to remind her, of herself, of the Goddess, Isis" (26).

"Love," Memnonius had told her, "takes many forms," and he makes it his business to instruct her in these matters by introducing her to the cult of Isis and Osiris (16).

> She visited new deities in the fashionable manner, and found refuge for the aesthetic side of her nature, in a modernized cult of Isis. The increasing visits of the wife of the governor to this shrine, caused no

> apprehension among transplanted Romans. At Rome, they had grown tired of the "return to nature," as encouraged by Augustus. The old gods of Latium, so signally re-enshrined, were a bit borish. In the Capitol, a return to the discarded orientals was in full swing. Some of those gods were modified within reason.[12] (20)

The usual syncretic modifications Middle and Far Eastern deities experienced in Western thought involved the reconciliation of dialectical attributes to existing deities in the Graeco-Roman pantheon. But this syncretism resulted in what H.D. criticizes as the "usual obvious, oriental duality" of sunlight/darkness, love/war, birth/death, and the like (22). Her character Memnonius hints at something more, some "secret" that has not been translated across from the Isis story in her Graeco-Roman syncretism with Aphrodite and Athene. When Veronica suggests that Isis is "only an earlier Aphrodite," he objects. Her interpretation of Isis is not mythic, but the result of historical syncretism. He suggests to Veronica that Isis has a role in mythology greater than the sexual love of Aphrodite, one involving a "secret doctrine" powerful to counteract the sacrificial mutilation of Osiris.[13]

> Was there a secret doctrine? Memnonius, in the usual manner, hinted dolefully and with mock humor at "inner mysteries" but unlike other Egyptians of her acquaintance, the hints seemed more than the usual obvious, oriental duality. (20)

H.D. is highly critical of such "duality," evidenced not only in the Graeco-Roman habit of splitting Isis'

magical re-membering from Osiris' sacrificial dismemberment (Adonis, Dionysis, Christ), but in their habit of intellectualizing, syncretizing, and in the end eclipsing Isis' attributes, for example, with those of Aphrodite/Venus.[14] Veronica senses, through Memnonius' instruction, that

> Isis was faithful. . . . Isis was magician and goddess of wisdom. The Greeks, for all their immense pragmatism and logical philosophy, had had to split the perfect image of the perfect Woman, say here is Love, faithless [Aphrodite] and here is Wisdom, loveless [Athene]. (25)

Veronica's task is to resolve the historical problem of the split image of woman, of the split between Love and Wisdom on the one hand, and magic and sacrifice on the other. At one level, Veronica's search for the resolution to the problem remains at the surface level of discussions with Memnonius, Mnevis, and Fabius. At another, the search for "vera icon" is conducted within Veronica's own psyche as she sifts through the archaeological layers of syncretic ritual icons and symbols: the cross and the bull. At still another, the search is projected outward onto the image of Christ as H.D. shows us how the Isis myth has evolved into the social construction of Christianity. The result is H.D.'s imaginative remaking of the historical circumstances which prompt Veronica's interference/intervention/insertion into Christ's story. H.D. accomplishes this by guiding our understanding of the evolution of Christianity through

matriarchal ritualistic artifacts, the Isis myth, and the dispersion of the Isis myth in two historical guises: the cult of Asterios in Crete, and Christianity.

The entire mid-section of the novel establishes the mood of religious dispersion in Jerusalem. Conversations Veronica has with Memnonius about the Isis-Osiris cult, with Mnevis about the Asterios cult, and with Fabius about the Mithras cult establish, as well, the poles of religious argument which ultimately result in Veronica's synthesis of their apparent oppositions. The terms of the argument devolve from the historical separation of magic from sacrifice in the dispersion of the Isis myth (at least from H.D.'s imaginative reconstruction of that cultural diffusion) from Egypt to Crete, to Etruria, Greece, and Rome, and then back again to the Graeco-Roman "modernized cult of Isis" in Jerusalem during the first century, A.D.. Here, H.D. appears to align magic and the powers of the goddess with myth, and sacrifice and the powers of the god with history. In her view, an imaginative fusion of magic and sacrifice, goddess and god, offers a mythic framework which allows us to reperceive the historical origins of Christianity as covertly matriarchal.

Before plunging us into the psychic depths of Veronica's search, however, H.D. reconstructs Jerusalem culture as an historical center of syncretism in popular

fashion which mirrors deeper (or not so deep) reflections of religious fashion. H.D.'s reading of Glotz's The Aegean Civilization guides her consideration of fashion in the novel[15]: Cretan sandals are on a par with religious artifacts and attitudes that abound in this city. H.D. implies rather than states her criticism of the devaluation of sacred objects and the mystery at the heart of religion.[16]

> A newly imported Isis caused no more apprehension than a newly invented head-band or new way of lacing sandals. Straps, just to the knees or just above the ankle, caused far more discussion and resounding arguments from partisans of both sexes. . . . Fashions in thought, partook of new pleats, as folds in dresses; head-bands were worn jewelled this side or that, wide or narrow, high or low, upon imperious forehead. Sandals and soft boots and sandal straps differed succeeding winters. So religions. (20)

By manipulating an historical surface of ethnic confusion in fashion and religion, H.D. both disturbs and prepares a ground for Veronica's psychic confusion over the ethnicity of the Isis icon of the "modernized Isis cult." "Isis wore straight pleats, her hair was dressed low on the neck; with a slight change of garment fold or of head-dress, she might be an exotic Ionian or even Etruscan" (20-21).

Notably, Veronica considers herself Etruscan, which roots her in ethnic history. She is flattered when Memnonius refers to the Etruscan as "a sort of transplanted--well, Jew almost," one whose "reality has never been revealed" (21). According to George Dennis, the "external

history of the Etruscans" is not fully known, but "has been assigned to the Greeks--to the Egyptians--the Phoenicians--the Canaanites--the Libyans . . . and lastly, to the Hyksos, or Shepherd-Kings of Egypt" (Hawkes 190). Tongue-in-cheek, perhaps, he adds that "I know not if they have been taken for the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, but, certes, a very pretty theory might be set up to that effect, and supported by arguments which would appear all-cogent" (Hawkes 190). In her wide-readings on antiquarian subjects, H.D. may have encountered some theory of this sort linking the Etruscans with the dispersion of the Jews; in any case, she herself alludes to such a theory by identifying both the Isis icon and herself (and later, Christ) with the Etruscan race. In "H.D. by Delia Alton," H.D. says that Veronica "finds a formula for the Eternal Lover in Pilate's Wife."

> She speaks of a little Etruscan statue, a memory of her childhood, "she always knew it would speak." It does speak, not actually in Pilate's Wife. But after our first, almost stupefying impression of "sheer exaltation of the intellect," vibrating through this reconstruction, we realize the search. (HDDA 182)

Veronica's search is through H.D.'s historical reconstruction of religious dispersion. Memnonius hints at the "psychic-vibrations," as H.D. calls them, which would allow her memory of the Isis/Etruscan statue to "speak" across the dialectic of Osiris' sacrifice and Isis' healing magic. H.D. criticizes the historical separation of sacrifice from magic in the dispersion of religion from

Egypt to the West. We sense this in Veronica's anger and indignation that Osiris' own father would sanction the mutilation of his son.[17] Memnonius reminds her, though, that "Sed and Mut, heaven and earth were the immediate parents of [Osiris] . . . God was only his father" (27). He cannot solve the problem of reinstating the Mother Goddess for her; she must solve it with Mnevis and, later, Christ, who sets up "psychic-vibration" (76) with her memory of an Etruscan statue and complies with her feminine recension of the Mother Goddess into religious history.

More "psychic-vibrations" begin to occur when Memnonius introduces Veronica to Mnevis, a Cretan woman who "had made a business of knowledge [and magic], as some women [like Veronica] make a pastime of love" (43-44). Mnevis helps Veronica remember various cultural myths of the Goddess within her historical moment of religious syncretism. When Veronica first comes to Mnevis, ostensibly to have her charts, stars, and palm read, Mnevis notes that Veronica's "feet, as lovely as her hands, were set forward, placed exactly before her, like the seated Isis. She was the seated Isis. The girl, Mnevis, lost none of this implication" (34).

Veronica, for her part, loses none of the implications of Mnevis' Cretan artifacts. Accustomed to being entombed with treasures,

> some old habit caused Veronica to take swift stock of the room's [Mnevis'] content, before she leaned forward to hieroglyph or symbols of some Asiatic creed or cult. . . . The cross held Veronica's attention. She had not seen one of just this peculiar attribute. Such a cross, she had heard, had been stamped upon foreheads. Some native prophet, she believed (Ezekiel?) had so caused them to be stamped upon the foreheads of a chosen people, as just such crosses were branded, across the flanks of pasturing cattle. This idea, at once, fascinated her, she had never traced the story. "What is that cross?" The woman looked up. (38)

Veronica here traces the story of the cross H.D. retraces from her marked passage in Glotz's The Aegean Civilization. Because the resemblances are so close and H.D.'s omissions so interesting, the passage is worth quoting in full:

> The cross marks the forehead of the bull as, in Egypt, it marks the flanks of the cow Hathor. It divides the sun into quarters or alternates with it. We see it formed of two double axes placed at right angles. . . . But in Crete alone the cross is more than a mere talisman and appears in close connexion with the divinity. Twenty-five centuries before Ezekiel speaks of people who have the tau or cross of St. Anthony cut on their foreheads. . . . In Cretan mythology already the sign of the cross is handed down from the Mother Goddess to her son [in the image of the divine goat suckling the divine child]. Before it became merely prophylactic, the sacred sign had had a profoundly mystical significance in Crete. It was only reverting to its original meaning when, in a new religion, it came to be the symbol of the son of God. (Glotz 256)

Veronica's tracing her memory of the story of the cross and H.D.'s retracing Glotz's story of the cross form a critical palimpsest; H.D.'s "erasures" in Veronica's memory-traces are powerfully recalled in the "mystery" the cross suggests for Veronica, though at present the cross remains undeciphered, undecipherable.

In this novel, the cross forms an archaeological matrix where artifacts, according to Henry Glassie, can become "key cultural statements" and cultural statements, in their turn, "come to be myth, powerfully compacted, densely metaphoric, fecund presentations of a culture's soul" (Glassie 14). Glotz's claim that in "Cretan mythology already the sign of the cross is handed down from the Mother Goddess to her son" gets suppressed in Veronica's remembrance. Yet it loops back in the text to Memnonius' puzzle that "God was only [Osiris'] father" (emphasis added) and forward in the text to the reason for that suppression in the Christian religion: "in a new religion, it came to be the symbol of the son of God." Though the cross as an "historical fact" aligned with the "son of God" overshadows its symbolic significance as a "mythic artifact" aligned with the Mother Goddess, H.D. nonetheless surfaces the mytho-historical problem in reading the cross as a "cultural statement."

Veronica's psyche teeters on the brink of remembering and forgetting the original "statement" of the cross: that the cross is an attribute of the Cretan Mother Goddess. Mnevis' attention, too, has been arrested by Veronica's palm-markings and she "knelt now under the strange cross, searching an [sic] square box for ink and brush and paper" (39)--her sacred box, a "necessary attribute of ancient mysteries, manifesting itself in the form of the cista

mystica, a wooden basket closed by a lid" (Burkert 7; Heyob 62). Mnevis' fortune-telling collapses all time values. In doing so, she exhumes the antique artifacts that will guide Veronica's psychic reversion back to an original ritualistic source where her spirit may escape the proliferation of religious cults that now hold her. Here, Mnevis prepares Veronica's psyche for a reversion back through the myth of Isis to reclaim the ritual artifacts of matriarchy she must remember before inserting herself into Christian religious history.

> "Your years, the lines, the numbers," Mnevis spread out the page and inked in detail of letters and stars and numbers, "point to one thing. A complete change, spiritual, emotional, physical, what you will. . . . Mercury, the Greeks call Hermes, is here with you. Here Mercury (the Greeks call him Hermes) has a double value. It would be better for you, having the mystic-cross so singularly attached to the head, rather than the heart-line, to consider Mercury. But to consider him perhaps, more in his early character. He is, of course, Thoth of the Egyptians." Mnevis had marked a cross, the T-Cross with long upright [line] and the bar, set across the top, like that same letter.
>
> "You must consider this cross among your attributes. It is transformed, in the staff of Hermes; the cross-bar becomes the heads of the serpents, an earthly and commercial wisdom. Wisdom of heaven and earth, of what Memnonius calls 'up and down stairs.'" (40)

But wisdom, as H.D. knew from her reading of Hare's Mysticism of East and West, "is not handed down from heaven nor has it grown up from the mud" (Hare 26). Rather, it is "beyond time, and psychological in its character," what Hare refers to as Christ's perception that the "Kingdom of

Heaven" is "not here, not there, with observation . . . but within you" (Hare 313; H.D.'s marginal check).

The bull is another religious symbol whose mythic associations must be restored to religious history. Veronica's psychic movements at this juncture are positioned between Memnonius's association of Mnevis with the bull-god of Heliopolis; Mnevis' own talk of Asterios, the bull-god son of the Mother Goddess of Crete; and Fabius' incessant talk of Mithras, the bull-god of Light and Darkness. Associated mythologically with the cross branded into its forehead, its flank, or stamped on the Mithraic wafer; associated religiously with divinity, with ritual sacrifice, and with the blood of actual sacrifice, the bull must somehow be reperceived in a genealogy aligned with the goddess: the Mother Goddess of Crete and, before her, Isis of Egypt.

H.D. continually seeks to recover through memory the historical and archaeological ground in which the mythic search for the Mother Goddess lies buried and forgotten. Memnonius seems most cognizant of the need to excavate hints and clues that will explain his own strange affinities with Mnevis and Osiris. He suggests to Veronica that Mnevis may prove helpful to their search, since

> "her somewhat outlandish Cretan name, sounds like the syllables they pronounce in the old cult at Heliopolis. It is the name of that local Apis or that bull-Osiris." He didn't know, he added, if she came from that same

> city, or even if her name, spelt out in Greek, or even bastard Crete and Latin, would actually be Mnevis. As she pronounced her odd name, it had sounded like that of that bull-God, and this had strangely roused him. He was forever following threads that led to nothing. He said as much, "I am always following clues that seem to lead nowhere. This time, I stand on the edge of the precipice." "And you ask me to jump off for you?" [Veronica asked]. "Well, not exactly that, Veronica; you might turn out another Ariadne." (29)

Memnonius' problem is not that the clue of Mnevis' name leads to nothing, but that he has not been chosen to be initiated into the mystery of unravelling the secret Veronica possesses somewhere in her labyrinthine psyche. Perhaps unconsciously, Memnonius connects Veronica with Ariadne, one of the multiform aspects of the Mother Goddess of Crete (Glotz 252). He more explicitly connects Mnevis to the "bull of a more massive breed . . . Ur-mer or Mnevis of Heliopolis, in whom Ra was incarnate." Veronica, on the other hand, seems to try to identify her with "Isis, as identified with Hathor" and thus to an older source (Brown 59).[18] "The Story of Ra and Isis," relocated from "Hesperia" but submerged in "Pilate's Wife," becomes a story Veronica only almost recalls, so hidden is it by Cretan stories which overlay it.

The divine mystery of the Cretan bull, though, dominates H.D.'s attention: the bull of Minos, the Minotaur of Knossos, Europa and the white bull, and Ariadne's escape with Theseus from the labyrinth of the Minotaur and the palace of Minos are tales H.D. recalls from a child's book,

Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales. H.D.'s allusion to Cretan mythology recalls Evans' excavation of Crete and his arguments for the historical truths of the terrible myths of the Minotaur. He announced "to the world that he had found the palace of Minos, son of Zeus, father of Ariadne and Phaedra, master of the Labyrinth and of the terrible monster, the Minotaur, that it housed" (Ceram 70).[19] The murals of "bull-dancers" in the palace of Knossos suggested the legend of Minos, the sacrifice of Athenian youths to propitiate the bull, the skein of wool Ariadne gave Theseus to guide him through the labyrinth, the slaying of the Minotaur, and the escape of Theseus and Ariadne to Greece. Other artifacts suggested that "Theseus' victory over the Minotaur in the legend is a symbol of the conqueror who came from the mainland and destroyed the palace of Minos" (Ceram 76).

Within the historical context of Evans' archaeological excavations, H.D. fictively positions Mnevis' talk of "the cult of this new Master of Israel [Christ] and of the just-discovered or rediscovered Asterios" against Fabius' talk of Mithra, a bull-god of Indo-Iranian origin. Asterios, Veronica senses, was a "Hellenized version of some remote Cretan origin" (65). Mithra, she thinks, "must be another Asterios . . . for this later, bull-sacrifice suggested earlier, Cretan bull-rites or Dionysic ritual" (65). Glotz,

H.D.'s immediate source for this novel, clarifies H.D.'s/Veronica's connections between the cult of Asterios and the cult of Mithra:

> As animal, he is the bull; as man, he is Minos; as animal, man and god as well, he is the Minotaur. This conception of the divine bull existed in Asia in the ICth millennium [in the figure of Mithra]. . . . His chief sanctuary was the palace of Minos itself, and those who crossed the threshold were seized with sacred terror as he rose above them, bellowing and dreadful to behold. Like all divinities he demanded victims [H.D.'s marginal mark]. It was not, however, the mythology of the Cretans but the legends of stranger peoples that made him into a god thirsting for human blood. The only sacrifice was the immolation of the god himself by those who wished to commune with him and receive his force into themselves. (Glotz 253)

The mythology of the Cretans, Mnevis suggests, aligned the Mother Goddess and Asterios with the cycles of nature, associated with the annual gathering of tulips. In her star-charts, she has apparently foreseen his return in the figure of Christ, who is similarly associated with the cycles of nature in the imagery which dominates the Gospels. According to Fabius, though, that same star is the occasion for the emergence of the new Mithraic religion in Jerusalem, which Pilate has sent him to investigate.

> "A star was seen in the East and shepherds, in the Assyrian mountains, saw a host of angels descending. There was pronouncement of benediction and Mithra was born, son of light. The darkness is the evil spirit, and goodness is the god, Mithra, light. These men have introduced no new startling doctrine; they concern themselves simply with the eternal balance, wickedness, beneficence; the day, the night; light, darkness." (53)

The "oriental duality" Veronica had complained about to Memnonius becomes apparent in her criticism of Fabius' account of Mithraism. But as the history of competing religions forms in Veronica's consciousness, certain features begin to align and historical erasures of mythic sources become apparent. Noteworthy in both Mnevis' depiction of Asterios and Fabius' depiction of Mithras is the absence of the "suffering god" and "wandering goddess" of Egyptian myth. The bull, in both cults, is perceived on the one hand as a manifestation of male-force and on the other as part of a sacrificial ritual.[20] Yet there is nothing in either which relates the bull-god to the act of sacrifice itself. While Mnevis hints that the hieroglyphs and sigils on her cross pertain to the Mother Goddess of Crete who hands the cross of eternity on to her divine son, the woman's role in the genealogy of Mithras is completely omitted.[21] The formula of the search for the Eternal Lover appears to Veronica to be either the brotherly-love of the cult of Mithra, which leaves out women (61; Burkert 43), or the figure of the "young Jew" [Christ] of the new cult of Asterios, who Mnevis claims "loved women, yet was no lover. Yet who was a lover" (70).

When Veronica visits Mnevis next, she senses a change, the loss of some value, some spirit from the past:

> There was something <u>not</u> in the room, a spirit or being of repose--there was no repose, everything seemed dry,

> spiritually dusty. She endeavored to focus, to seize now on the various layers of the inner magic, the things that made that magic definite, definable. (82-83)

Identifying the phases of her initiation into the mysteries of Asterios as "magic," Veronica associates that magic now with the insignia of her initiation: the dark room, half-light, candles, lilies, and cross--all are gone. The transference of magic through the insignia of ritual, very close to Harrison's concept of magic and sacrifice discussed in Chapter Two, backgrounds H.D.'s understanding of the historical evolution of ritual magic into religious sacrifice. There is a brightness in Mnevis' room that eclipses the mysterious "magic" darkness affords. When asked why she has dispensed with the insignia of her mystery cult, Mnevis answers that she wants to get rid of old rituals, she wants to follow the Jew, she wants something new. "We must have above all, no cross," Mnevis tells Veronica.

At stake, for Veronica, is the erasure of the mythic memory of ritual and magic which the artifacts symbolize, the erasure of the cultural statement they signify. At stake, most immediately, is her very self, whose name, Veronica, means vera icon (true image). Veronica can never find her way to the "true image" of herself without these insignia, nor can her identification with the goddess Isis be effected without them, since the insignia of ritual are

the medium by which Isis effects the transfer of her power to Veronica. With Mnevis to guide her in her initiation, Veronica had sensed herself very near to finding the Eternal Lover, to finding a religion that would release her spirit. But after all the intellectual discussions with Memnonius, Fabius, and Mnevis, she feels herself no closer to the end of her quest. She is still hovering between worlds, entombed in a loveless marriage, a flower infolded and beginning to wither, a woman still trapped within the confines of history and exposition.

What Veronica seeks is an answer, in historical time, to her outward search. But the search is one, Hare reminds us, which must be conducted inwardly, in what H.D. calls dream of mythic time. Consequently, H.D. reconstructs for us the dream of Pilate's wife which the Bible says caused Pilate to wash his hands of blame for the crucifixion. Through an imaginative synthesis of myth and history, H.D. interpolates the Isis myth into biblical history through the medium of Veronica's dream:

> Between sleeping and waking, she heard her name, thought vaguely it was Pilate, saw as near her as the very width of the curtain, the face of the sun Image. It was no longer smiling. The sheer intellectual beauty of the thing was obvious, apparent. . . . It bore a cloak (as was the usual manner of it) hung loosely on one shoulder, the other shoulder was bare. The voice would speak, it would always say that, "Veronica" . . . verbena, Veronica, the two went together, the sacred herb, the herb of healing with its intoxicating fragrance when the leaves were so crushed between thumb and finger. The name was spoken,

> "Veronica." "I am Veronica," said Veronica sitting upright.

Veronica's dream signifies the progress of her initiation into the mysteries of Isis. According to Sharon Kelly Heyob, "only persons selected by the goddess were permitted [the] honor [of initiation]. The individual would be notified in a dream that Isis desired him or her as her servant" (Heyob 57). Apparently, Veronica has been granted that honor in her dream, and we detect Isis' presence in the fragrance which signifies her search for the body of Osiris. The precise nature of Veronica's role as "servant" to Isis is not fully revealed in Veronica's dream, but doubtless it has something to do with the "wandering goddess" healing the "suffering god" with her magic potions and words of power. Inner wisdom thus directs Veronica to her window where in the courtyard she sees the exact replica of her dream in the figure of the young Jew (104). "In him was manifest, she had just seen, her own Etruscan sun-god" (119). At the very least, she understands that she must now enact some service on behalf of Isis. Veronica's mythic enactments in the service of Isis result in H.D.'s "fictive" reconstruction of the history of Christianity.

In her conversations with Pilate, Veronica steps out of the confines of biblical history which have, throughout the novel, restricted her role and limited her wisdom. When it becomes clear to her that Pilate's power over the prisoner

is itself restricted, that he can neither condemn the prisoner (falsely mistaken for a priest of Mithras) nor excuse him without inciting mob-rebellion, Veronica offers a solution which would rejoin the historical ritual of Christ's sacrifice with the mythic ritual of Isis' magic remedy which mitigates the sacrifice (117). Pilate offers tacit approval, and with that, Veronica begins to reenact as history the myth of Isis' revival of Osiris.

> Pilate would have secret satisfaction, knowing that the outer symbol (the death of this Prophet) was only by way of propitiating mob-clamour. The mob claimed its circus spectacle, just as in early ceremonies, Memnonius had outlined for her, the Egyptian people, uninitiate to the inner mysteries, must themselves believe that Osiris was torn fragment from fragment, limb horribly from limb, by a jealous father. The father of Osiris was pre-supposed to have hallowed the mutilation. In this case, however, there was simply the outer reading. (125-26)

The outer reading, in H.D.'s view, is the historical reading. The inner reading is mythical, shared only by "initiates" capable of grasping the mystery of Veronica's solution, which offers the alternative of a healing mother as antidote to sacrifice. H.D. derives her idea of the historical "outer reading" of Christ's sacrifice from Weigall's Paganism in our Christianity (117). The inner reading, one of love, healing, and forgiveness,[22] she derives from Hebrew and Mohammedan theories that Jesus survived and another was sacrificed in His place. Weigall himself seemed convinced that these theories were proved by

the Gospels, "but what happened after that is a deep mystery" (101; H.D.'s marginal mark). In any event, H.D.'s novel addresses Veronica's role in that "deep mystery," and "Veronica, waiting in a dark room, knew in some specific corner of her odd consciousness that this very small event held in some way, the whole germ of all doctrinaire philosophy" (126).

Just as Christ largely fulfills the prophecy of Hebrew history by his coming (from a Christian standpoint), so too does Veronica largely revise Christian history by restructuring it in the framework of the Isis myth and recovering a mythic reading of antique symbols.

> What Eastern prophet had ever given women a place in the spiritual hierarchy? The Greek certainly, but then the Greek, Veronica knew, had sublimated and intellectualised the old set of symbols.
>
> This Jew seemed to combine Greek intellectualization and occult wisdom in a curious precise manner. His "consider the lilies" linked up his cult of Nature, with the old shrines where lillies [sic] floated always before the feet of the blue-painted Isis. The lilies were the flower, notoriously, of Isis. His talk of birds, of doves, noticeably again brought the dove-worship into human consciousness. . . . the dove (harmless as doves) was no new symbol. Mnevis knew that as well, better even than I. Crete had stabilised that cult of lilies long since. There were designs on those old parchments, copied from copings and a frieze; that great palace was ruined, long since. Men turned sideways, awkwardly, in the ridiculous convention of the temples, Memnonius talked of. Both Memnonius and Mnevis were old-fashioned. (127, 149)

The inward movements of the souls of H.D.'s characters become outwardly manifest in their cooperation with

Veronica's revision of events surrounding Christ's crucifixion. Her subsequent regathering of the syncretic symbols which form the insignia of Memnonius', Mnevis', and Fabius' various mystery cults becomes her attempt to reconstitute the old stories into one new religion that can correlate mythic artifacts with new historical facts.

From Memnonius of the cult of Isis and Osiris she requests a phial of opiate, "a compound of colourless poppy-juice and some unnamed, secret remedy" intended to revive Christ after the crucifixion in the manner of Isis reviving Osiris (122). She asks, as well, that he procure safe passage for the revived Prophet in a boat bound for Cyprus or Crete, again recollecting Osiris' night sea journey from death to rebirth. Fabius of the cult of Mithras provides the cave, symbolic of the subterranean cosmos which is this world. Christ's image entombed there replicates the trappings of an Egyptian tomb and the aspect of Osiris preparing for his journey through death to life.

> Those little jars ranged along the wall, so much spice and incense, wafted perfume to the body of this Image. The Image lay there, white and tall, lying as if asleep, the gesture, one clenched hand resting on the half-bared breast, alone witnessed the unparallel of this turgid and over-crowded afternoon. (133)

This image of repose recalls the spirit of repose Veronica had found in the mystery of Mnevis' room, the phase of initiation preceding the transformation of the psyche, the release of the spirit. The earthquake at the crucifixion

had been symbolic of this, too, recalling the destruction of Knossos and the release of the Minotaur from bondage.[23] From Mnevis, she sought the service of accompanying Christ in his journey to Crete (or Cyprus), reminiscent of the Mother Goddess of Crete hiding her son Zeus from the wrath of his father, Saturn, cheated of his sacrificial victim. Veronica, in fact, senses herself reinstated as the Mother Goddess in the birth of this new religion.

> I have made life. Her soul swelled in painful disproportion. If he is Zeus, this new son of an old crabbed Saturn, then I am--I am--Almost by some trick of perception, she thought of herself as the creator of this being, who was yet as a young father. (153)

Though Veronica cannot name who she resembles here, she is aware that she has joined the old ritual symbols, the old myths, and the diverse cultic religions to this new, religious "cultural statement" of the "unity of all things" in her role as the Mother Goddess of Christian syncretism (161). Through the evolution of Isis' mythical role into Veronica's historical one, H.D. accomplishes a cumulative synthesis of ritual, myth, and religious history. Frazer's, Murray's, and Harrison's view of this evolution would appear to suggest that it is a linear progression; but as Hayden White suggests, history is rooted in myth and so subject to the narrative recyclings of facts homologous to H.D.'s recyclings of ritual artifacts through myth to the evolution of a new matriarchal religion in "Pilate's Wife."

By foregrounding Veronica's "motherhood" in the new religion, H.D. likens her to the Mother Goddess of Crete, and likens Christ to Asterios, her divine son. Crete and Egypt align in this novel, and the "service" Isis requested of Veronica in her dream comes clear. The Mother Goddess offers women reinstatement in religion after the old mysteries. While Veronica is unable to formulate that Crete is the first site of the dispersion of Isis' story, she does, it seems, recognize the significance of her participation in the sacred recyclings of the Isis myth through the religious history of Christianity.

Because H.D. views Egypt as the psychic analogue for the origin of memory, the idea of "dispersion" also suggests the way in which religious history has banished from memory Isis' participation in Osiris' rebirth. H.D.'s method for reinstating her in memory involves Veronica's willingness to be a vehicle for Isis' creative synthesis of magic and sacrifice, and therefore of myth and history. Through her initiation into the secrets of Isis, Veronica reperceives the underlying structure of myth in history which allows her to reenact myth <u>as</u> history and allows us to reperceive history as imbricated in myth. H.D.'s overlapping of dream time and real time characterizes her search for moments when myth "comes true" in history as it did when she was a child reading myths and reenacting them in everyday events (see

Chapter One). Those stories in which H.D. engineers myth "coming true" in history exemplify two related projects in H.D.'s work: to search through archaeology, literature, and history for dispersed fragments of matriarchal myth, and to reconstruct a mythological framework from them that can guide us in understanding the role of myth in the construction of history.

The search for intersections or superimpositions of history and myth is a central narrative device in H.D.'s work because so many of H.D.'s characters depend upon it for self-knowledge. Who her characters _are_ is a function of what they _know_, and through her women characters' identifications with Isis, knowing and being become one. John Middleton Murry, editor of _The Adelphi_ where H.D. published many unsigned book reviews during the 1920s, wrote a review of _Science, Religion and Reality_ which usefully underscores H.D.'s insistence that "there is another method of cognition, another kind of knowing, than the scientific" (_The Adelphi_ 8.7 [1925: 461). Historical knowing, as H.D. knew, was only part; the other part, in her view, was mythic knowing which comes in intuitions, what Murry describes as "the eternal rebirth which is the secret of true mysticism. . . . [The] unremitting cultivation of that knowing which is an immediate function of being" (470-71). _Helen in Egypt_ makes explicit that knowing and being is a process

negotiated between the complementary exchanges between history and myth. While Veronica of "Pilate's Wife" arrives at a moment where the synthesis of history and myth seems to have occurred, Helen of Helen in Egypt begins her search implicated in competing versions of myth and history, all of which are reconstructions and none of which strike Helen as "true."

Notes

1. In "H.D. by Delia Alton," H.D. suggests that "Hesperia," one of the stories in her unpublished collection Seven Stories, underwent a further revision in 1948 when Norman Holmes Pearson asked her to collect and review her manuscripts. She further suggests that the writing of this story took twenty-five years "to crystallize" from her Egyptian trip with Bryher and her mother. It is possible that the 1934 version of the story I examine here reflects her 1948 editorial revisions. Further proof of that may be found in the close resemblances between "Hesperia" and Evelyn Eaton's The Hours of Isis (1930) which H.D. received as a gift from her friend Arthur Bhaduri between 1940 and 1944. See Chapter 3, n. 29.

2. This Mithraic detail will be further elaborated in "Pilate's Wife." Here, though, is H.D.'s early suggestion that Isis' search and the cult temple of Isis at Philae have been historically submerged or replaced by the male-centered Mithraic cult. Both cults made use of the Egyptian temples during the Graeco-Roman occupation of Egypt.

3. M. Broderick and A. A. Morton's A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology (1922) was a book given to H.D. by Bryher while they were in Luxor in 1923. The scarab was significant as the conception of Khephera, the cause of the sun traveling the sky by day (151-52). "The scarab . . . took the place of the heart in the body of the deceased." The Lotus, which H.D. marks, "was held sacred, because the Egyptians saw in it a symbol of the rising again of the sun. . . . Ladies are represented with it in their hands, and it figures on altars of offerings. As an amulet it signified the divine gift of eternal youth. . . . it is difficult to distinguish it between it and the pictures of the papyrus plant" (93).

4. In Evelyn Eaton's The Hours of Isis, her meditation on the story of Isis imaginatively reconstructs Isis' trust that "My beloved will come to me" (25). Margaret Fairwood's "come now" recalls Eaton's text, and was a likely influence on the mood and manner of Margaret's own meditations at Aswan.

5. This lightbulb resonates with the single lightbulb that lights the tomb of Amenophis II in "Secret Name." On this occasion, Margaret Fairwood reads the Book of the Dead

inscribed on the tomb walls. The recontextualization of the lightbulb from "Secret Name" to "Hesperia" involves H.D.'s revision of Isis' role in the Book of the Dead. It is appropriate that though the same images recur in H.D.'s recontextualization, we are forced to reread and reperceive their significance. Here, Isis characteristically announces her presence in flashes and spears of light (Freiss 208).

6. See Broderick, A Concise Dictionary, where he notes that the "birth house" or mammisi is "that chamber in a temple in which the goddess is supposed to have given birth to the third person of the triad" (95). The Isis-Osiris-Horus triad becomes interestingly reconfigured in all-women triads in the stories of Palimpsest and "Hesperia."

7. See Burkert where he connects the idea of mystery to the secret doctrine which centers the initiation ceremonies of ancient mystery cults (7).

8. H.D. makes reference to this same agate stone in "Tribute to the Angels," distilling it from the word alchemy of "a word most bitter, marah,/a word bitterer still, mar,/ . . . Star of the Sea,/ Mother" (Trilogy 71-72, 76). As we shall see, at the end of "Pilate's Wife," Veronica must, too, reinvent her name and, in so doing, reinvent her association to the "Mother Goddess."

9. See Broderick for H.D.'s marked passage on the ka: of particular interest is the passage "in order that the Ka might be well served, objects he might be supposed to want were broken to free their Kas, and placed in the tomb. The idea is almost equivalent to Paracelsus' theory of astral bodies"--an idea which, from a psychological point of view, interested H.D. very much.

10. The monkey can represent the subconscious, what has been repressed, or instinct, what is monkey-like and cannot be fully exorcised. Campbell discusses this in "The King and the Corpse."

11. Veronica of Church tradition was "A woman of Jerusalem who is said to have offered her headcloth to the Lord to wipe the blood and sweat from His face on the way to Calvary; He returned it with His features impressed upon it. The legend is first found in its present form in the 14th Cent. The incident occupies a regular position in The Stations of the Cross" (Elizabeth Livingstone, Ed. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 536). According to David Hugh Farmer, some believe the "story was invented to explain the relic," though "Gerald of Wales and

others [held] that her name really means vera icon (true image) among spurious representations of Christ" (Oxford Dictionary of Saints 422). H.D. seems to have been aware of Veronica's association with the "true image" of Christ, for her whole novel really plays upon her name as a "true image" and on the story she invents to explain that image.

12. See Horace Freiss' Non-Christian Religions, where he notes that "As a result of [Rome's] victory over Carthage and the defeat of the great Hellenic empire which brought the entire Mediterranean area under its sway, oriental deities increasingly found worshippers in Rome" (209). Also see William Loftus Hare, 303, for a similar reference.

13. In the story, Memnonius instructs Veronica in the story of Osiris' mutilation--a story she is apparently unfamiliar with. He withholds from her, however, the "secret doctrine" of Isis' healing magic which counters the effects of the mutilation (27).

14. According to Sharon Kelly Heyob, the Greek Isiac aretologies which made Isis a popular cult figure in the Graeco-Roman world in fact fragmented Isis' attributes among existing Greek goddesses, Aphrodite being one of them. Heyob's analysis suggests that the Greek syncretism of Isis is a false one (Heyob 42-45).

15. In Glotz's The Aegean Civilization, there are many underlinings of passages concerning "Material Life" and "Dress and Adornment." The emphasis on "sandals" here suggests the Cretan influence H.D. wants to create in the novel, for several marked passages refer to the pre-hellenic sandal, the Cretan styles of sandals, shoes and high boots (Glotz 72-79).

16. See Chapter 3 where I discuss the similar devaluation of sacred relics in the aftermath of the excavation of King Tutankhamen's tomb.

17. Gilbert Murray suggests something of this sort in a passage H.D. marked on the dangerous ethic which gets introduced into religion when an anthropomorphic god allows his son to be mutilated (Five States 90-91).

18. Broderick offers another H.D. text with mention of Mnevis as a "sacred Black bull venerated at Heliopolis" (103). Surely aware of the significance of Brown's designation of Mnevis as the "Ur-Mer"--the Ur-mother in H.D.'s word-alchemy in Trilogy--Mnevis' role here attains to the significance of a displaced Cretan Mother Goddess.

19. Ceram's Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology was a book in H.D.'s personal library where she could have found an accounting of Evans' excavations in Crete. According to Thomas Swann, H.D. was interested in that excavation at the time it was happening, during her years at Bryn Mawr (The Classical World of H.D.). And David Roessel suggests that if she were not aware of Evans' excavations through any other route, her companion Bryher would have been an immediate resource. "Bryher had a keen interest in archaeology and had once observed Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos, at work" ("H.D.'s Troy: Some Bearings," The H.D. Newsletter 3.2: 39; from Bryher's The Heart to Artemis 150-51; 160).

20. Fabius recounts to Veronica more fully the initiation ceremony in the cult of brotherly-love. He recalls for her "the communion-cup of red wine, the remoteness of the chosen cavern, the simplicity of the night, the astonishing grandeur and number of those stars he rarely noticed. . . . The spilt blood of ritualized bull-sacrifice, again intoxicated his sense, along with the uncanny certainty that, out of the dense recess of that mountain cavern, that very white symbol of beauty and perfection was about to enter [as the soldiers kneel] to receive the wafer of fine meal that was stamped with the cross, that early symbol of the star and hence eternity" (57). The insignia of the Mithraic initiation will be retained in Veronica's later syncretic synthesis of the various cult symbols in the novel.

21. According to Walter Burkert, Mithras' genealogy is entirely male; no female figures in it, suggesting that women were aligned with the forces of evil and darkness in this cult (73-74).

22. H.D. makes several marginal marks beside chapters on love and forgiveness in Glotz's The Aegean Civilization.

23. In Ceram's recounting of Evans' excavation, he notes that while excavating in the late 1920s, there was an earthquake which sounded like the bellowing of the Minotaur and gave Evans an insight into the connection between the legend of the Minotaur and the cataclysmic destruction of the civilization of Crete (79).

CHAPTER FIVE

HELEN IN EGYPT: THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN MYTH AND HISTORY

> But for the moment, [Helen] wants to reassess her treasure, realize the transcendental in material terms.
>
> H.D., Helen in Egypt

Roessel's recent article, "H.D.'s Troy: Some Bearings," bears directly on my study of H.D.'s imaginative reconstruction of history and myth in the Aegean--Egypt, Crete, Troy, and Greece. In his provocative article, Roessel argues that the scholarly result of Schliemann's excavation at Troy was a new perception of the Homeric myth of the Trojan War as an historical event. Though Schliemann was convinced in his own historical moment that Helen was an historical figure--he had, after all, discovered her "jewels" among the spoils of Troy--later historians viewed Helen as a negligible or dispensable character in the sublimation of The Iliad into history. Citing J.B. Bury's A History of Greece (1913) as a case in point, Roessel states that Bury envisions a cause of the war which is quite different from

> the one in Homer. Troy used her strategic location between the Black and Aegean Seas to monopolize trade and "grow fat on the produce of others. It was probably at the beginning of the twelfth century, as

> the Greek tradition reckoned, that the Achaeans made ready a great expedition to exterminate the parasitic power which preyed on the trade of the world." For Bury, Walter Leaf, and many other scholars, the Trojan War became a trade war. Most recent books on Greek history still suggest that the motivation for the Trojan War was economics. The logic apparently was, and is, that a real war deserves a serious cause. Or, to put it another way, there really was a war, so it could not have been caused by Helen. (Roessel 38)

Roessel goes on to suggest that H.D.'s "Winter Love," sequel to Helen in Egypt, records the "prominence of the trade war theory and the consequent de-emphasis of Helen" (39). H.D.'s re-emphasis of her in Helen in Egypt seems archaeologically grounded in the details of her epic, though, and Roessel's hint that archaeology might just as well be used to support Helen's status as an historical figure deserves further consideration.

During H.D.'s lifetime, archaeology did, in fact, continue to support the likelihood of a trade war as the formal cause of the Trojan War. Denys Page's History and the Homeric Iliad (1959), a book in H.D.'s personal library, benefitted from Carl Blegen's further excavations at Troy in the 1930s. Praising Page's synthesis of archaeology and Homer, Blegen wrote that Page "marshalled all the archaeological evidence that bears on the history of the Mycenaean Age, the Trojan War, and on Homeric problems" (Blegen 19). According to Page, the war between Troy and

Greece occurred at a time when Greece was trading extensively with Egypt and Troy. The Hittite withdrawal from the "central-western coast of Asia Minor" near the end of the thirteenth century opened the coast to occupation either by the Trojans, to the north, or the Greeks, to the west. Reminding us of the "most obvious lesson of archaeology, now confirmed by the Linear B Tablets," Page asserts that "the Mycenaean Greeks were great men of business: the attack on the western coast of Asia Minor is the last chapter in the tale of two hundred years of economic penetration in the East" (Page 110-111). The trade war theory suggests that, given the opportunity, the Greeks preferred to raise their own sheep and horses and spin their own cloth than import them from Troy. It was just good business sense.

Notwithstanding the historical support for the trade war theory from Hittite documents, archaeological evidence, and Homer's Iliad, of particular interest to H.D. would have been Denys Page's support of the historical probability of Helen as a competing cause of the war. Since H.D.'s own portrayal of Helen as a figure of historical stature and significance depends so heavily on Page's assertion of Helen's historicity, his argument to that effect is worth

quoting in full. He concedes that Homer presents mythic types in The Iliad: the wrath of heroes like Achilles, Aeneas, and Paris and the quest to recover lost loves like Orpheus of Eurydice or Menelaus of Helen. Page therefore proceeds with caution in his claim that mythic types can also be read as historical figures. The fact that

> important elements in the story may be typical, common motifs--and therefore, it would appear, fictitious,--weighs heavily in the balance when we proceed to estimate whether Helen was a real person, and whether she eloped with Paris and so became the cause or occasion of war. The two questions are connected: for one of the principal witnesses to her name in the formular vocabulary implies at the same time her prominence in the story, --dios Alexandros, 'Elenes posis nukomoio--her name is bound up with Alexander's [Paris'] in a formular phrase. The fact that the man is described as being merely the husband of a woman is proof enough that she played an important part in the story; and the description itself shows that that part was the elopement. But here again the theme is typical; it is the common story of the beautiful princess stolen from her husband or lover, who must win her again by force or guile. It is evidently possible that this element in the Iliad is the creation of the Ionian poets, a storyteller's motif woven into the texture of the Trojan War at a time when the royal house of Mycenae was extinct and the past no longer vivid in memory but merely a theme for poetry. At the same time let us admit that there is much room for doubt. The story is not in itself impossible or even unlikely: such things have happened, and have been the occasion of wars. We do not know whether this element was or was not present in the Mycenaean Epic. If it was, it must have been historical; for no poet in any court in Hellas could found his true story of the Trojan War on a fictitious tale of the Great Queen's elopement, if the whole world knew that nothing of the sort had happened. (Page 257-58; emphasis added)

Page does not fully resolve the question whether Helen was merely an artistic convention/invention or an actual person whose beauty was capable of sending the Achaeans to die for her. He nevertheless opens the way for H.D. to recast the problem in Helen in Egypt as Helen's uncertainty over whether she was or was not in Troy during the war; whether love was or was not a worthy cause of war; whether a "race of iron"[1] was or was not capable of launching a war in the name of love rather than material greed.

H.D. seems equally unwilling to resolve the question of whether Helen was an historical figure or a legendary type, for it is in the nature of H.D.'s imaginative reconstruction of myth and history to present them not as binary, but as complementary. As H.D. attempts to ground Helen in the archaeological and historical events of Troy, conflicting literary versions of Helen in Stesichorus and Euripides resist the historical pull, imaginatively deferring Helen to Egypt, to Crete, or to a time when Greece and Troy were one.[2] The consequence, for Helen, is that she can never fully take up a position either in history or in myth; she can never, that is, unless she transcends the binary opposition of history and myth in her own cultural moment. How she transcends this opposition involves a psychoanalytic

process pattered after Freud's Socratic methods in which "The question [of truth] must be propounded by the protagonist himself [Helen, in this case], he must dig it out from its buried hiding-place, he himself must find the question before it could be answered" (TF 84). H.D.'s Helen in Egypt can therefore be viewed as the process of Helen's mind in the act of establishing what is "true" and who she is: an historical figure and/or a mythic type?

H.D. reconstructs the Freudian process of "finding" truth by sifting through a variety of literary and historical "statements" about Helen. H.D. appears to treat both kinds of "statements" as interpretive and therefore constructed. In "Literary History," Lee Patterson traces this view back to Saussure and the beginnings of structuralism, where language and writing are viewed as "analogous" to the world of things, and are therefore reproductions rather than the things themselves. "Truth," in this view, says Patterson,

> is produced, not discovered, and is a property not of the world but of statements. . . . [For] statements do not refer to but rather constitute facts: what counts as a fact is determined not by its existence in the world but by the discursive practices that make it possible for something in the world to serve as a fact within a certain discourse. (Patterson 257)

This "analogical" view of facts helps us see more clearly how H.D. mediates the opposition between history and myth, fact and fiction. To discover the "truth" of Helen, H.D. must "place" her in a geography aligned with the Freudian unconscious, the dark room of racial inheritance, where she may reconstruct--through the "talking cure"--who she is and where she belongs in the annals of myth and history. This involves, as we will see, H.D.'s reperception that "facts" are as much the discursive property of art as of history and science, though the function of "facts" in their constructed discourses may differ.

Helen in Egypt opens with Helen "transposed or translated from Greece into Egypt" and H.D.'s apparent awareness of the philological basis of that "translation." Helen of Troy, we are told, "was a phantom, substituted for the real Helen, by jealous deities." The narrator asserts that Helen's actual history is insubstantial: "The Greeks and the Trojans alike fought for an illusion" (HE 1). We see Helen wandering in Thebes: "The great Amen, Ammon or Amun temple still stands, so we may wander there with Helen. She and we need peace and time to reconstruct the legend. Karnak? Luxor? Thebes, certainly. This is the oldest city in the world. Homer knew it" (HE 11). But why try to

reconstruct the legend in the context of Egypt, in the context of the Amen Temple? Certainly H.D.'s literary predecessor's--Stesichorus and Euripides--had relocated her there. But why does H.D.? Not only because Egypt is the archaeological site where memory originates in H.D.'s work, as we have seen in Palimpsest and Pilate's Wife, but also because H.D. needs time to question the "truth" of the literary "translations" which have "transposed" Helen in Egypt.

Though "transposition" is primarily a musical term used to describe the act of writing or performing "in a key other than the original or written key" (American Heritage Dictionary), it applies equally to H.D.'s use of the term. Her version of Helen's mythical and historical status is written in an octave other than H.D.'s literary sources--Homer's Iliad or Stesichorus' and Euripides' Helens. H.D. characterizes the process of transposition in Tribute to Freud as dream time transposed into real time.

> We travel far in thought, in imagination or in the realm of memory. Events happened as they happened, not all of them, of course, but here and there a memory or a fragment of a dream-picture is actual, is real, islike a work of art or is a work of art. (TF 35)

The facts of history, "events . . . as they happened,," could occasionally align with "dream-pictures" from myth and

fairytales. This recalls H.D.'s childhood view of myths as "actual," as "true" in an historical dimension given the right circumstances.

In the "Dark Room" chapter of The Gift, H.D. clarifies the circumstances under which the shared "facts" of history and myth may be said to superimpose, or to fuse, or to be transposed, one onto the other, in a mutual exchange of cultural information. Some psychic "shock," she suggests, ruptures the Freudian repression barrier between the unconscious and consciousness, allowing momentary escape of the mythic contents of "dream time" into historical time. In the case of H.D., World War II has called forth from the unconscious the silhouette of Helen, and for Helen in Helen in Egypt, the Trojan War has called forth the silhouettes of Euripides' Helen and Homer's Iliad which cause her to question whether her being is fact or fiction. During war, H.D. seems to suggest, mythic types can become stereotypes and legends of war the ghosts of actual war.

H.D.'s Helen takes us through this process of recovering from the unconscious the "buried treasure" of past cultural upheavals which lay "hidden, buried under the accumulated rubble of prescribed thinking, of inevitable social pruning and trimming of emotion and imagination"

("Dark Room" from Montemora 5 [1981]: 64). The "buried treasure" she refers to here are the artifactual contents of the mythic unconscious--contents like "Helen" whose literary construction in myth as one whom "All Greece reviles" cannot be substantiated in social constructions of history like Bury's.

H.D. tries to substantiate Helen both as a literary and as a social construction; she is an artifact produced by Homer, a poet of culture, but it is possible, H.D. suggests, that she is also a "fact" denied by most historians, a point I will return to later. In her "thinkings" about her constructed past, Helen processes and transposes from her unconscious into consciousness the "buried treasures" which may reconstitute her past. It is no coincidence that the tombs of Egypt in Palimpsest and Mnevis' room in Pilate's Wife replicate the "dark room" of Helen's mind. It is an archaeological site where literary constructions about her are artifactual in the sense that they have been produced by the social forces of war. Helen, in fact, consistently aligns herself with writing, that action by which she has been constructed by culture and by which she means to reconstruct herself from the contradictory claims of myth and history on her story.

In Egypt, we are told, Helen identifies herself with the Mother Goddess. When a vulture[3] flies over the desolate beach where Helen has met and recognized Achilles, he is afraid. She reassures him that it is only the protective presence of Isis who hovers near:

> I [Helen] said, "There is mystery in this place,
> I am instructed, I know the script,
> the shape of this bird is a letter,
>
> they call it the hieroglyph;
> strive not, it is dedicate
> to the goddess here, she is Isis." (HE 13)

Helen wonders, "how did I know the vulture?/ why did I invoke the mother?" (HE 23). But since she has already admitted that she has "read" the lily carved on the temple walls, we must grant her the intuitive knowledge of the initiate who is beginning to penetrate the "hieroglyph of the unconscious," the repository of all that she knows but knows not that she knows. Between them, they struggle over Helen's "placement" or involvement in history or myth, because in H.D.'s recasting of that dilemma, Achilles' placement and involvement are also called into question. "Helena, which was the dream?" he asks. And she is drawn into the question, into the dilemma which confines her somewhere between two competing realities. She, too, wonders which was the dream:

the rasp of the severed wheel,
the fury of steel upon steel,
the spark from a sword on a shield?

or the deathless spark
of Helena's wakening . . .
a touch in the dark? (HE 42)

Unable to remember her past through the events of war but able to remember her love for Achilles forces Helen to "an intermediate dimension or plane" (HE 46). It is in this "intermediate dimension" that Helen must negotiate between two truths: those acts of war that are evidence of history and the act of love which is the stuff of myth. It is in this intermediate dimension between history and myth that Helen "wants to reassess her treasure, realize the transcendental in material terms" (HE 11). But as H.D. reminds us in "The Dark Room" of The Gift, getting facts to align with artifacts is a process of thought in which "science and art [can] beget a new creative medium. Medium? Yet we must not step right over into the transcendental, we must crouch near to the grass and near to the earth that made us. And the people who created us" ("Dark Room" 64). Consequently, Helen must stay near artifacts and writings about her, for these human constructions may guide her in reconstructing a history for herself. She "wants to relate a graven line/ to a fact, graven in memory." Since she is

not in possession of the "facts" concerning her historical role in Troy, she wants artifacts to <u>be</u> facts. Her identity depends on her Socratic questioning of the status of facts and artifacts in the reconstruction of who she is.

> I place my hand on a pillar
> and run my hand as the blind,
> along the invisible curve
>
> of the line of chick or bee;
> where are we?
> and what is the answer?

<u>Where</u> Helen is, though, has been an unstable, changeable function in her story. Her spatial confusion becomes a metaphor for her more complicated psychic confusion over <u>who</u> she is. Which Helen <u>is</u> she? Helen of Sparta? Helen of Greece? Helen of Troy? Helen of Egypt?

Achilles, too, seems disoriented by Helen's displacement from Troy to Egypt. He tries to convey to Helen the historical reality of seeing her pace between the turrets on Troy's Wall, of seeing her leave "by a secret gate" (<u>HE</u> 49). It is archaeologically possible (in H.D.'s reconstruction) that Helen <u>was</u> in Troy, for Achilles refers here to the turrets set at intervals on the fortification wall where he claims to have seen her. Carl Blegen notes that one of the turrets was "called the 'Great Tower of Ilion' which apparently stood near or beside the 'Scaean

Gate'," the main entrance to Troy. "It was there," he continues, "that the assembled Trojan elders, eloquent as cicadas sitting on a tree, admired the beauty of Helen as she came out, took her seat beside Priam, her father-in-law, and identified for him some of the leading heroes who were conspicuous in the Achaean ranks" (Blegen 14). As for the "secret gate," this archaeological detail also substantiates Helen's historical reality, for there are three mentions in the Iliad of a Dardanian Gate which "opened on the road that led to Dardania, far away to the south on the slopes of Mt. Ida" (Blegen 15). If Helen were in Troy, it is unlikely she would have left by the Scaean Gate in full view of the Trojan Elders.

But as Achilles recounts these details to Helen, even he suspects some new combination of history and myth has occurred in the way he reconstructs his memory of events.

> I stooped to fasten a greave
> that was loose at the ankle,
>
> when she turned; I stood
> indifferent to the rasp of metal,
> and her eyes met mine; . . .
>
> all things would change but never
> the glance she exchanged with me. (HE 54)

If he saw her leave by the "secret gate," it is an archaeological detail transformed by the "glance" of love

Helen and Achilles exchange. Shortly thereafter, Achilles recalls embarking with Charon for the death-ship of Osiris which will take him to Helen in Egypt. The glance of love, which is the arrow of death for Achilles, transposes the "secret gate" in Troy onto the Book of Gates through which the dead must pass on their way to the "Abode of the Blessed" in The Egyptian Book of the Dead.

The transposition of the fact of the "secret gate" onto myth becomes even more complicated in "Leuke," since Achilles' mention of the "secret gate" allows Helen to slip out of Achilles' recollection of Troy and into Paris' recollection of the same event in Oenone's hut on Mt. Ida. Paris, too, remembers Helen's strange disappearance down the stairway when Troy's Wall fell. Conveniently, the "Dardanian Gate" points geographically/archaeologically towards Mt. Ida, which is where Aphrodite promises to recall Paris "to life/ if [he] forget[s] Helen" (HE 135). But Paris, who saw Helen disappear in a flash of light at the head of the stair, has been implicated in the glance exchanged by Helen and Achilles. The facts of his recollected version of that moment also attempts to transpose Helen into an historical register. "I am the first in all history," Paris claims, "to say, she died,

died, died/ when the Walls fell" (HE 131). In so saying, Paris grants that if Helen died in Troy, then her spirit escaped both history and myth, since history does not record Helen's death on the ramparts of Troy. Further, if she did die, her death ensures that she will never return to Greece, as The Trojan Women maintains, with Menelaus. In Paris' reconstruction, Helen gets "out" of the constructed statements which limit and confine her meaning in this poem, but where does that put her? "Once 'out,'" H.D. asks in "H.D. by Delia Alton,"

> where are you? Will you come back? Will you stay "out"? And once "out," in any case, there is awkward dilemma. The spirit caught back into the old mysteries of Egypt and Greece might be perfected, but on the other hand, it might, after initial ecstasy of freedom, wander in some vague Limbo. (HDDA 206)

Theseus, her spiritual guide through the limbo of her psyche, assures her that "all myth, the one reality,/ dwells here" on Leuke (HE 151). Theseus, "the legendary hero-king of Athens," is "endeavouring to help Helen answer her own questions and 'reconcile Trojan and Greek'" (HE 159). Analogue for Freud, Theseus counsels her to contemplate the material world as a vehicle for her psychic re-entry back "into" everyday reality--advice H.D. was well acquainted with in Freud's museum-like room surrounded by the material remains of his artifactual gods/goods (TF 93):

"remember these small reliques, [Theseus says to Helen],
as on a beach, you search
for a pearl, a bead,

a comb, a cup, a bowl
half-filled with sand,
after a wreck," (HE 165-66)

Aware that she has crossed the threshold into death,[4] Helen must wind her way back in thought to Crete and to Egypt to discover "the way out, the way back,/ the way home" to the "truth" of herself as Helen Dendritis of Greece (HE 182, 190).

In "Eidolon," H.D. has Helen retrace in her memory the pattern of "the way out, the way back,/ the way home." To understand "the way out," she must return to the Walls of Troy and there retrace the events of myth and history, correlating artifacts with facts, making with doing in her search for truth. Helen is

called back to the Walls
to find the answer,

to wander as in a maze
(Theseus' Labyrinth),
to explore each turn of the street,

for a way to the ships and the wharves,
to return and sort over and over,
my bracelets, sandals and scarves--

but who would stoop to pilfer,
who would steal
these intimate, personal things? (HE 232)

The archaeological detail of Helen's reminiscence on Troy Town recalls Schliemann's reading of the Iliad as a

guidebook which led him to his excavation site. The personal details of "bracelets, sandals and scarves," however, recall more than just Helen's fashionable accessories, but again Schliemann, and his theft of what he thought were Helen's jewels and Priam's treasures.[5] These facts and artifacts perhaps point to hidden meanings, if only Helen can remember what she is looking for in the "dark room" of her memory, what treasure she and Achilles exchanged on the beach of Egypt.

It is through the "medium" of exchange--a word/fact, a treasure/artifact--that H.D. negotiates her exchanges between history and myth. The word "Thetis" mediates between facts and artifacts to produce a new combination. In her "A Relay of Power and of Peace: H.D. and the Spirit of the Gift," Adalaide Morris anthropologically positions H.D.'s philosophy of mind and mystery within the idea of a gift economy, where the transmission of sacred knowledge occurs via the material exchange of goods/gods.

Morris focuses her study on Marcel Mauss' idea of the hau, the "god in goods. It is alive and active, a part of the donor that travels along with the thing given and that eventually calls the gift or its equivalent back toward its source" (503). Morris carefully tracks this idea through the gift economy H.D. establishes in her work. As she makes clear, H.D. returns to "spiritual and mystical" traditions

as antidote to "modern materialist economics" (503). In a similar fashion, Helen recalls the mystery of her love for Achilles in Egypt as antidote to his death in Troy, an act of remembrance which attempts to deconstruct the binary opposition between the mythic cause of the Trojan War (love) and the purported historical cause (economic greed) which all but dismisses Helen as an historical figure. It is an act of remembrance, moreover, which both recalls the eidolon Thetis from Helen's unconscious and by which Helen is recalled to the source of the "Thetis" word-exchange with Achilles at their first meeting.

The word "Thetis," in H.D.'s epic, grants Helen entry into the "dark room" of her unconscious. When Achilles and Helen first meet on the desolate beach in Egypt, Helen notes:

> few were the words we said,
> but words are graven on stone,
> minted on gold, stamped upon lead;
>
> they are coins of a treasure
> or the graded weights
> of barter and measure. (HE 11)

Helen attempts to "barter and measure" her value in history and myth through the word "Thetis." This word, in particular, has the status of fact, since it is a word produced by a cultural belief system. As such, it carries within it what Morris calls the hau, the god(dess) in the good. The "eidolon" Thetis is a "phantom; apparition" or an

"image of an ideal" (American Heritage Dictionary). She is the word Helen needs to reassess so that she can "realize the transcendental in material terms" (HE 11). The "transcendental," for H.D., occurs when the initiate penetrates the "inner mysteries" of the mother goddess. Typically, H.D. associates this moment with the mystical fusion of the initiate with an eidolon of the mother goddess.

The mother goddess Thetis upon the prow of Achilles' ship correlates with Helen's memory of an artifactual dendritis doll hidden within Achilles' armor at Troy. Helen senses the image transposed onto her own identity as Helen Dendritis. In this sense, "eidolon" becomes not so much a "phantom" or an "apparition" of Thetis, but an "image of an ideal" akin to Plato's doctrine of knowledge as an act of remembrance. Remembrance, for Helen, carries with it a sense of identification, signifying her initiation into the goddess tradition and establishing a tie between fact and artifact: Thetis and herself, herself and the dendritis doll, subject and object, myth and history, and being and knowing. In a manner reminiscent of H.D.'s earliest Imagist poetry, H.D. continues the Bergsonian method of placing herself at the "heart" of objects and words in order to intuit the soul of the past. Her poetic reperception of

Helen's memories of the past are focused by the word "Thetis."

"Thetis" is a word full of memories for Helen. In this word, Helen intuits the memory of Isis' affinity to Thetis and thus to herself. By plunging Helen into the depths of memory where the memory of Isis' journey down the Nile flows, H.D. is able to surface the scholarly problem of Helen's irreconcilable positions in history and myth. But the scholar who is uninstructed in Isis' power to re-member, as H.D. reminds us in "Helios and Athene," is ill-prepared to remember the soul of Greece. If Helen in Egypt of H.D.'s reconstruction is to return home to Greece as Helen Dendritis, then H.D. the poet must construct a Greek past that allows for the return of Helen's soul. "I know that we need scholars to decipher and interpret the Greek," H.D. wrote in her early notes on Euripides' Helen (1918),

> but we also need poets and mystics and children to re-discover this Hellenic world, to see through the words; the word being but the outline, the architectural structure of that door or window, through which we are all free, scholar and unlettered alike, to pass. (NEPG 9)

The word "Thetis" thus becomes a portal through which Helen may pass from Greece to Egypt and back again.

In the "Dark Room" chapter of The Gift, H.D. suggests that words or facts, like the artifactual images in the British Museum or the images reconstituted in her Imagist poetry, are vehicles for subjective meanings. They carry

within them an inner life which only the poet can help us reperceive.

> A word opens a door or just a few remembered facts doled out, apparently indifferently or received apparently with little or no interest, become later, a clue, a focus, a center or a node for the growing branches of ideas or imaginative speculations. ("Dark Room" 64)

It is through the medium of intuition that the historian's intellectual approach to facts may be reperceived as art-facts, for even the "real events" of history, Hayden White suggests, are subject to interpretation in the narrative practice of history. And the narrative practice of history, he says, is implicated in the structures of myth.

Re-reading her notes in 1958 as she was composing her "recension" of Helen in Egypt from Euripides' and Stesichorus' sources, H.D. intuited "an entirely new idea of this enigmatic drama. This play, in light of history, the ill-fated Sicilian expedition, is one of the most poignant and devout of the series of the 'lost oracle,' making a trilogy with Ion and Iphegenia [sic]" (NEPG 18). As such, Helen in Egypt is part of Euripides' trilogy of religious plays where the act of "sacrifice" is at the center of dramatic action. In Iphigenia at Aulis, Iphigenia is the sacrificial victim, and within the context of H.D.'s Helen in Egypt, Helen recalls that Achilles had an active role in that sacrifice. Consequently, he must be sacrificed by the glance of love/death in Helen in Egypt to propitiate Isis,

offended by the sacrifice of Iphigenia. By his death, Achilles is transposed from the battlefield of Troy to the death-ship of Osiris, and thus from history to myth.

Once Helen recognizes the Egyptian mythic framework of Isis-Osiris, she can take her place within the pattern of sacrifice-rebirth. Myth structures Helen's actions, and just as Isis births Horus from Osiris' dismemberment, so too does Helen rebirth her's and Achilles' childhoods from his forgetfulness/dismemberment of the Thetis eidolon. From the conjunction of Achilles' historical sacrifice in Troy and Helen's and Achilles' mythic love on the desolate beach of Egypt, H.D. manages a fusion of myth and history. Transposed onto the mythic types Osiris and Isis, Achilles and Helen have traveled the night sea of memory. This mythic framework prepares for their rebirth into history as children: Achilles in Chiron's cave, and Helen Dendritis of Sparta (HE 288).

The psychological return to the childhood of the race is as much a return to the beginnings of history as it is a return to the mythic contents of the unconscious. Such, in any case, is one possible reading of H.D.'s imaginative reconstruction of myth and history in Helen in Egypt. But it is neither the only reconstruction nor the only reading possible. H.D. reminds us that the process of remembering begets endless reorderings of facts into art-facts:

multiplied to infinity,
the million personal things,
things remembered, forgotten,

remembered again, assembled
and re-assembled in different order
as thoughts and emotions . . . (HE 289)

Although for H.D. the mythic frame--the search for the Eternal Lover patterned after the Isis-Osiris myth--remains the same, the configuration of histories within that frame are multiple. Helen's definitive decipherment even of herself is not possible. She cannot escape being an art-fact; she can only reconstruct the facts into concrete artifacts of herself. But in the process of doing this, Helen endlessly engages in revivals of herself, as her rebirth into childhood suggests.

The truth H.D. discovers in her transpositions of facts and artifacts, and histories and myths, is that both are necessary for a clearer reperception of the past than either the historians or the mythologists are able to perceive. To have one's perceptions limited either by legend or by history, by intuitions or by intellect, by artifacts or by facts, is to deny either the vehicle or the agency of knowing and being. Myths are guidebooks to the soul's being just as histories are guidebooks to the intellect's knowing. One without the other results in dead myths or deadening histories. The imaginative transposition of one onto the other, however, enlivens both, and in those instances art

becomes the vehicle through which we reperceive how the soul of the past can break through the facts of the historians, the artifacts of the archaeologists, the art-facts of H.D.'s own reconstructions. The "truth" intuited by the poet can

> break through the legend,
> the fame of Achilles,
> the beauty of Helen,
>
> like fire
> through the broken pictures
> on a marble floor. (HE 258-59)

Throughout H.D.'s work she attempts to negotiate the cultural tensions between science and art which I see replicated in the tensions between myth and history. Although largely self-taught in the intellectual contexts which wedged them apart, H.D. repeatedly approaches history through the structures of myth and archaeology. Truth, for her, resides not in facts or in artifacts, but in the subjective processes of thought by which historians, archaeologists, and artists alike interpret the social meanings and cultural functions of facts and artifacts.

In the parlance of New Historicism, H.D.'s project to negotiate exchanges between history and myth appears to subvert one paradigm and then the other so that a new paradigm--mytho-history--can emerge. This emergent paradigm, which we have seen in her recensions of Egyptian myth in Palimpsest and in her diffusion of Egyptian myth through religious history in Pilate's Wife, seems effected

by her reperception of magic and/or sacrifice as a way of bringing the soul of the past into a new context she constructs for it.

Although H.D. cannot of course sustain her synthesis of myth and history beyond her own texts, she does demonstrate an awareness of the cultural contexts of archaeology, anthropology, historiography, mythology, and psychology from which the tensions in her texts derive. By considering these conflicted contexts in her own texts, she offers a poet's insight into the life that has passed away which cannot be approached through the intellect alone. Though we may argue the "truth" of her reconstructions, she nonetheless exposes through her art the intuitive thought processes by which any truth in any discourse is constructed. Re-membering the past, she reminds us, is both the practice of history and the function of myth.

Notes

1. H.D. refers to the Iron Age of war as an "iron-ring" and "iron-circle," which become formulaic epithets for the iron-command of Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Odysseus. The phrase "race of iron" is from Gilbert Murray's Rise of the Epic (82; qtd. in Denys Page's History and the Homeric Iliad 119). It is ironic that H.D. would refer thus to late Bronze Age heroes, though she clearly views them as the harbingers of the Age of Iron, of greed and hate. Although Page clarifies that the Iron Age or Dark Age of Greece began with the Dorian invasion of Mycenaean Greece, the utter demise of Troy itself exemplified what Murray characterizes as "a spirit of striving among miserable men, a spirit ugly-voiced, glad of evil, with hateful eyes" (qtd. in Page 119). the Iron Age and H.D.'s references to it form obvious parallels at one pole of Morris' argument that H.D. positions her gift economy against the forces of greed spawned by "modern materialist economics." It forms another interesting pole in Roessel's introduction of the trade war theory into the issue.

2. Denys Page alludes to the fact that, historically, "The Trojans and the Mycenaean Greeks once shared a common culture" (66). That information may have fueled H.D.'s imagination, since Helen in Helen in Egypt is at pains to reconcile Troy and Greece. It also adds an historical layer to H.D.'s otherwise enigmatic genealogy which relates Achilles and Helen to a common mother, Thetis. Obviously, H.D. wants us to grasp the fusion of Achilles and Helen through the agency of Love as a particular act with broad mystic/mythic/cultural and historical implications.

3. See Broderick's Concise Dictionary and Brian Brown's The Wisdom of the Egyptians for references to Mut and Isis, who are interchangeably figured as vultures in hieroglyphic art.

4. In Notes on thought and Vision (1919), H.D. first formulated the sting of love, which is the sting of death, as the world-consciousness of Egypt. The glance of Love Helen and Achilles have exchanged is simultaneously a Love which slays each.

5. In Gods, Graves, and Scholars, a book in H.D.'s personal library, Ceram gives a colorful account of Schliemann's theft of Troy's treasures. After much digging

at Troy, Schliemann one day saw a glint of gold and ordered his workers away on the pretext that it was his birthday: "The workers left. 'Get your red shawl!' Schliemann said to his wife as he jumped down into the hole. He went to work with his knife like a demon. Massive blocks of stone, the debris of millennia, hung perilously over his head, but he paid no attention to the danger" (43). What Schliemann thought he found were Priam's treasures and Helen's jewels. H.D. recalls the theft of some of Helen's "personal things," and it is likely a pointed jibe at Schliemann for his violation of sacred space.

References

The asterisk (*) indicates texts in H.D.'s personal Library.

A Dore Bible Gallery. New York: Arco Publishing Company, Inc., 1974.

Aldington, Richard. "Anti-Hellenism. A Note on Some Modern Art." The Egoist 1.2 (Jan. 1914): 35-36.

_____. "Modern Poetry and the Imagists." The Egoist 1.11 (Jan. 1914): 201-03.

_____. "The Poetry of Ezra Pound." The Egoist 2.5 (May 1915): 72-73.

Altick, Richard. The Shows of London. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

_____. Victorian People and Ideas. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973.

American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980.

Arnold, Matthew. Complete Prose Works. Ed. R. H. Super. 11 vols. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960-77. Vol. 1.

_____. Culture and Anarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Art Through the Ages. Ninth Ed. Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1991.

Baedeker, Karl. Egypt and the Sudan: Handbook for Travellers. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1914.

_____. Greece Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1920.

_____. London and Its Environs. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1911.

Babbitt, Irving. Literature and the American College: Essays in Defence of the Humanities. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1908.

Bann, Stephen. "The Sense of the Past: Image, Text, and Object in the Formation of Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Britain." The New Historicism. Ed. H. Aram Veeser. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Bell, Daniel. "Modernism Mummified." American Quarterly 39.1 (1987): 122-32.

Belzoni, Giovanni. Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a Journey to the Coast of the Dead Sea, in Search of the Ancient Berenice; and Another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. 2 vols. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1822.

Blegen, Carl W. Troy and the Trojans. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.

Brackman, Arnold C. The Search for the Gold of Tutankhamen. New York: Mason/Charter, 1976.

Bradbury, Malcolm and James McFarlane, eds. Modernism, 1890-1930. Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1978.

Brattan, Fred Gladstone. A History of Egyptian Archaeology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968.

*Breasted, James Henry. A History of Egypt. 2nd Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton [1909?]. Inscription: Hilda Aldington, Riant Chateau, May 23 [19]23.

*_____. Ancient Records of Egypt. 5 Vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920-23. Vol. IV. Inscription: For H.D. from Bryher, Egypt 1923.

*Broderick, M. and A. A. Morton. A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology. A Handbook for Students and Travellers. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1922. H.D.'s Owl bookplate. Inscription: H.D. Aldington:/ Luxor 1923/ From Bryher.

*Brown, Brian. The Wisdom of the Egyptians. New York: Bretano's, 1923. Inscription: H.D. Aldington from Br./ Paris 1923.

Brown, Chris. "A Filmography for H.D." H.D. Newsletter 2.1 (1988): 19-24.

Browne, Henry. Our Renaissance: Essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917.

Bruce, James Douglas. "Recent Educational Tendencies." PMLA 32.1 (1917).

Buck, Claire. "Freud and H.D.--Bisexuality and Feminine Discourse." M/F, 8 (1983): 53-66.

*Budge, E. A. Wallis, trans. Book of the Dead. An English Translation. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938. H.D.'s Rose bookplate.

_____, trans. The Book of the Dead. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1974.

_____, trans. The Book of the Dead. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967.

_____. By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913. 2 vols. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1920.

*_____. Cleopatra's Needles and Other Egyptian Obelisks. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1926.

*_____. The Dwellers on the Nile. 5th Edition. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899. H.D.'s Rose bookplate.

*_____. Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1902.

*_____. The Egyptian Heaven and Hell. 3 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1905.

*_____. Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1908.

_____. Egyptian Language: Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. 1910. Rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1983.

*_____. Egyptian Literature: Annals of the Nubian Kings. Vol. 2. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1912.

*_____. A Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1911.

*_____. Legends of the Gods. Vol. 1. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1912.

*_____. Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection. 2 vols. London: The Medici Society, Ltd., 1911.

*_____. The Teaching of Amenem-Apt, Son of Kanekht. London: Martin Hopkinson, 1924.

Bulfinch, Thomas. Thomas Bulfinch Mythology: The Age of Fable, The Age of Chivalry, Legends of Charlemagne. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1913.

Burkert, Walter. Ancient Mystery Cults. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987.

*Buttles, Janet R. The Queens of Egypt. London: Archibald Constable, 1908. H.D.'s Owl bookplate. Inscription: Hilda Aldington presented at tea on Luxor Hotel porch by W. B. Feb. 4 Sunday 1923.

*Cecil, Mary R. M. (Lady Williams). Bird Notes from the Nile. Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1904. Inscription: Feb 5, 1923/ Luxor.

*Ceram, C. W. Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology. Trans. E. B. Garside and Sophie Wilkins. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.

Collecott, Diana, ed. "H.D. Special Issue." Agenda 25.3/4 (1987/88): 3-200.

_____. "Remembering Oneself: The Reputation and Later Poetry of H.D.." Critical Quarterly 27.1 (1985): 7-22.

Connell, William F. The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950.

Cook, Albert. Myth and Language. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

*Cooke, Harold P. Osiris. A Study in Myths, Mysteries and Religion. London: C. W. Daniel, 1931. Inscription: 1932.

Cottrell, Leonard. The Bull of Minos: The Discoveries of Schliemann and Evans. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1953.

Curl, James Stevens. The Egyptian Revival: An Introductory Study of the Recurring Theme in the History of Taste. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982.

Davenport, Guy. "Pound and Frobenius." Motive and Method in 'The Cantos' of Ezra Pound. Ed. Lewis Leary. New York: AMS Press, 1954. 33-59.

_____. "Scholia and Conjecture for Olson's 'The Kingfishers'." Boundary 2 2 (1973/74): 250-62.

Deetz, James, ed. Man's Imprint from the Past: Readings in the Methods of Archaeology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

Dennis, George. "Etruria and the Etruscans." The World of the Past. Ed. Jacquetta Hawkes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

Disher, Maurice Willson. Pharaoh's Fool. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1957.

Doria, Charles. "Pound, Olson, and the Classical Tradition." Boundary 2 2.1-2 (1973/74): 127-43.

Doyle, Charles. "Palimpsests of the Word: The Poetry of H.D." Queen's Quarterly 92.1 (1985): 310-21.

DuPlessis, Rachel Blau. "Romantic Thralldom in H.D.." Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth-Century Women. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

_____. "'sheer young classicism circa 1917'." H.D.: The Career of that Struggle. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. 1-30.

*Eaton, Evelyn. The Hours of Isis Based on the Legend of Isis. London: Baskerville Press, 1928. No markings, but influential as cf. p. 72: "Gift from Bhaduri with letter: 'To Hilda with all love and greetings for Christmas and the New Year. May the hours of Isis bless you. Arthur.' n.d. but during war years. Also enclosed is Metropolitan postcard of Queen Hat-shepsu seated."

Eliot, T. S. "Reflections on Contemporary Poetry." The Egoist 4.10 (Nov. 1917): 151; 6.3 (July 1919): 39-40.

_____. The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1920.

_____. "Studies in Contemporary Criticism." The Egoist 5.10 (Dec. 1918): 131-33.

_____. "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The Egoist 6.4 (Sept. 1919): 54-55; 6.5 (Dec. 1919): 72-73.

Euripides. Ion. Trans. and notes by H.D.. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937.

*Evans, Arthur (Sir). The Earlier Religion of Greece in the Light of Cretan Discoveries. London: Macmillan & Co., 1931.

Fagan, Brian M. The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson. The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Fish, Stanley. "Commentary: The Young and the Restless." The New Historicism. Ed. Aram Veeser. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Flint, F. S.. "The History of Imagism." The Egoist 2.5 (May 1915): 70-71.

_____. "The Poetry of H.D." The Egoist 2.5 (May 1915): 72-73.

Frazer, Sir James. The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1963.

Freibert, L.M.. "From Semblance to Selfhood: The Evolution of Woman in H.D.'s Neo-Epic Helen in Egypt." Arizona Quarterly (1980): 165-75.

Friedman, Susan Stanford. "Creating a Women's Mythology: H.D.'s Helen in Egypt." Women's Studies 5 (1977): 163-97.

_____. "Modernism of the 'Scattered Remnant': Race and Politics In the Development of H.D.'s Modern Vision." H.D.: Woman and Poet. Ed. Michael King. University of Maine at Orono: National Poetry Foundation, Inc., 1986.

_____. Psyche Reborn: The Emergence of H.D.. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.

_____. "Psyche Reborn: Tradition, Re-Vision and the Goddess as Mother Symbol in H.D.'s Epic Poetry." Women's Studies 6 (1979): 147-60.

_____. "Who Buried H.D.? A Poet, Her Critics, and Her Place in the Literary Tradition." College English 36.7 (1975): 801-14.

Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and its Discontents. Trans. James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1961.

Friess, Horace L. Non-Christian Religions. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., Publishers, 1963.

Gardner, Frieda. "H.D.'s Palimpsests." Diss. University of Minnesota, 1983.

Gardner, Percy. Classical Archaeology in Schools. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects, 1905-1920. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.

Gelpi, Albert. "Hilda in Egypt." Southern Review (1982): 233-50.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Vol. 2. Sexchanges.

Glassie, Henry. "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies." Prospects. Ed. Jack Salzman. New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1977.

*Glotz, Gustav. The Aegean Civilization. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1925.

Godwin, Jocelyn. Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1979.

Gossman, Lionel. "History as Decipherment: Romantic Historiography and the Discovery of the Other." New Literary History 18.1 (1986): 23-57.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Towards a Poetics of Culture." The New Historicism. Ed. Aram Veeser. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Greener, Leslie. The Discovery of Egypt. London: Cassell & Company, Ltd., 1966.

Gregory, Eileen. "Ovid and H.D.'s 'Thetis' (Hymen Version)." H.D. Newsletter 1.1 (1987): 29-31.

_____. "Rose Cut in Rock: Sappho and H.D.'s Sea Garden. Contemporary Literature 27.4 (1986): 525-52.

*Grosse, A. Bothwell. The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians. London: T. C. & E. C.. H.D.'s Owl bookplate. Inscription: Jack, 1915.

Gubar, Susan. "Sapphistries." Signs 10.1 (1984): 43-62.

Guest, Barbara. Herself Defined: The Poet H.D. and Her World. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984.

H.D.. Bid Me to Live (A Madrigal). New York: The Dial Press, 1960.

_____. "Cinema and the Classics: Restraint." Part 2. Close Up 1 (Aug. 1927): 30-39.

_____. Collected Poems, 1912-1944. Ed. Louis L. Martz. New York: New Directions, 1983.

_____. End to Torment: A Memoir of Ezra Pound. Eds. Norman Holmes Pearson and Michael King. New York: New Directions, 1979.

_____. "H.D. by Delia Alton." Iowa Review. 16.3 (Fall 1986): 174-221.

_____. Helen in Egypt. New York: New Directions, 1974.

_____. "Hesperia." Typescript. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

_____. Nights. New York: New Directions, 1986.

_____. Notes on Euripides, Pausanius, and Greek Lyric Poets. Typescript. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

_____. Notes on Thought and Vision & The Wise Sappho. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1982.

_____. Palimpsest. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.

_____. Pilate's Wife. Typescript. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

_____. The Gift. New York: New Directions, 1982.

_____. Tribute to Freud. New York: New Directions, 1985.

Hamilton-Paterson, James and Carol Andrews. Mummies: Death and Life in Ancient Egypt. New York: The Viking Press, 1978.

Hanscombe, Gillian and Virginia Smyers. Writing for Their Lives: The Modernist Women, 1910-1940. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987.

*Hare, William Loftus. Mysticism of East and West: Studies in Mysticism and Moral Philosophy. London: Jonathan Cape, 1923. Pencil markings.

Harrison, Jane. Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. 1912. Rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. Tanglewood Tales. London & Glasgow: Collins, 1957.

Heyob, Sharon Kelly. The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1975.

*Hichens, Robert. The Spell of Egypt. Tauchnitz Edition, 1910. Inscription: Helen W. Doolittle, Egypt 1923.

"Hieroglyphics." Edinburgh Review 45.89 (Dec. 1826): 95-147.

Hillier, Bevis. Art Deco of the 20s and 30s. New York: Schocken Books, 1985.

Hirsh, Elizabeth A.. "'New Eyes': H.D., Modernism, and the Psychoanalysis of Seeing." Literature and Psychology 32.3 (1986): 1-10.

Hodder, Ian. Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Holborn, Hajo. History and the Humanities. New York: Doubleday, 1972.

Hughes, Glenn. Imagism and the Imagists. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1931.

Hulme, Thomas E.. Speculations: Essays on Humanism and the Philosophy of Art. Ed. Herbert Read. 1924. Rpt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

Huxley, Aldous. "Our Contemporary Hocus-Pocus." The Adelphi 2.12 (1925): 966-74.

Irwin, John. American Hieroglyphics: The Symbol of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in the American Renaissance. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Karl, Frederick R.. Modern and Modernism: The Sovereignty of the Artist 1885-1925. New York: Atheneum, 1988.

Kayman, Martin A.. The Modernism of Ezra Pound: The Science of Poetry. Hong Kong: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1986.

Keller, Werner. The Bible as History. Trans. William Neiland and B. H. Rasmussen. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981.

Kenner, Hugh. The Pound Era. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Laity, Cassandra. "H.D.'s Romantic Landscapes: The Sexual Politics of the Garden." Sagetrieb 6.2 (1987): 57-100.

Lang, Andrew, trans. Aucassin and Nicolete. New York: Roycroft, 1899.

Larousse Encyclopedia of Archeology. Ed. Gilbert Charles-Picard. Trans. Anne Ward. New York: Crescent Books, 1983.

Leary, Lewis, Ed. Motive and Method in 'The Cantos' of Ezra Pound. New York: AMS Press, 1969.

*LeBreton, Mrs. John. The White-Magic Book. London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1930.

Levenson, Michael. A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study in English Literary Doctrine 1908-1922. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Levertov, Denise. "H.D.: An Appreciation." Poetry (1962): 182-86.

Livingstone, R. W. A Defence of Classical Education. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1916.

London Times. "Greek Antiquities." 6 Apr. 1874: 3c.

_____. "Homeric Troy." 30 June 1875: 9e.

_____. "New Discoveries at Troy." 27 May 1874: 7c.

_____. "New Greece." 18 Apr. 1874: 5c.

_____. "The Trojan Antiquities." 2 June 1874: 7f.

Longenbach, James. Modernist Poetics of History: Pound, Eliot, and the Sense of the Past. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987.

*Lucas, A. Ancient Egyptian Materials. London: Edward Arnold, 1926. H.D.'s Owl bookplate. Inscription: H.D. Aldington from Br.

*Mackail, J.W., trans. Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911.

Maspero, Sir Gaston. "Assurbanipal's Library." Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899. 287-302.

McCabe, Joseph. The Story of Religious Controversy. Boston: The Stratford Company, Publishers, 1929.

McDonald, William A. and Carol G. Thomas. Progress into the Past: The Rediscovery of Mycenaean Civilization. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

McGrath, Nancy. Frommer's Dollarwise Guide to Egypt. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1986.

Meltzer, Francoise. "Unconscious." Critical Terms for Literary Study. Eds. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Messenger, Phyllis Mauch, ed. The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.

Mill, John Stuart. Mill's Essays on Literature and Society. Ed. J. B. Schneewind. New York: Macmillan, 1965.

Monroe, Harriet. "The King's Tomb." Poetry 22 (1923): 32-36.

Montrose, Louis. "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture." The New Historicism. Ed. Aram Veeser. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Morris, Adalaide. "The Concept of Projection: H.D.'s Visionary Powers." Contemporary Literature, 15.4 (1984): 411-36.

_____. "A Relay of Power and of Peace: H.D. and the Spirit of the Gift." Contemporary Literature 27.4 (1986): 493-552.

Murray, Gilbert. Euripides and His Age. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1913.

*_____. Five Stages of Greek Religion. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

_____. The Interpretation of Ancient Greek Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects, 1905-1920. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.

_____. The Place of Greek in Education. Glasgow, 1899.

*Murray, M. A. Ancient Egyptian Legends. London: John Murray, 1920, 1927. H.D.'s Owl bookplate. Inscribed: Hilda Aldington Feb 7, 1923 (Evening sail from Luxor on [?] Rosetta).

*_____. Egyptian Sculpture. London: Duckworth, 1930.

Murry, John Middleton. "Science and Knowledge." The Adelphi 3.7 (1925): 461-72.

Neumann, Eric. The Origins and History of Consciousness. Trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954.

New York Times, The. "Crowds Flock to Egypt: Tourists and Archaeologists Stream in to See Tutankamen's Tomb." 22 Jan. 1923 14: 2.

_____. "Finds in Egypt Tell of Early Feminist." December 19, 1928, 26:8.

_____. "An Early Egyptian Feminist." December 23, 1928, 5:4.

O'Connor, David and David Silverman. "The University Museum in Egypt." Expedition 21.2 (1979): 4-60.

Orr, Linda. "The Revenge of Literature: A History of History." New Literary History 18.1: 1-22.

Ostriker, Alicia. "The Thieves of Language: Women Poets and Revisionist Mythmaking." Signs, 8.1 (1982): 68-90.

*Page, Denys L. History and the Homeric Iliad. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1959.

Parrot, Andre. Nineveh and the Old Testament. Trans. B. E. Hooke. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955.

Patterson, Lee. "Literary History." Critical Terms for Literary Study. Eds. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Peacock, Sandra J. Jane Ellen Harrison: The Mask and the Self. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Perera, Sylvia Brinton. Descent to the Goddess: A Way of Initiation For Women. Toronto, Canada: Inner City Books, 1981.

Perloff, Marjorie. The Futurist Moment: Avant-Garde, Avant Guerre, and the Language of Rupture. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Poggioli, Renato. The Theory of the Avant-Garde. Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1968.

Pondrom, Cyrena N. "H.D. and the Origins of Imagism." Sagetrieb 4.1 (1985): 73-97.

Pound, Ezra. "Exhibition at the Goupil Gallery." The Egoist 1.6 (Mar. 1914): 109.

_____. "I Gather the Limbs of Osiris." New Age 10 (1911): 130-31.

_____. The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941. Ed. D. D. Paige. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

_____. "The New Sculpture." The Egoist 1.4 (Feb. 1914): 67-68, 80.

_____. The Spirit of Romance. New York: New Directions, 1952.

Putnam, Emily James. "A Classical Education." Putnam's Monthly Jan. 1908.

Quinones, Ricardo J. Mapping Literary Modernism: Time and Development. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Redford, Donald. Akhenaten, The Heretic King. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Retellack, Joan. "H.D., H.D.." Parnassus 12/13.2/1: 67-88.

Riddel, Joseph. "H.D. and the Poetics of 'Spiritual Realism.'" Contemporary Literature, 10.4 (1969): 447-73.

_____. "H.D.'s Scene of Writing--Poetry as (and) Analysis." Studies in the Literary Imagination. 12.1 (1979): 41-59.

Roeder, George H. "What Have Modernists Looked At? Experiential Roots of Twentieth-Century American Painting." American Quarterly 39.1 (1987): 56-83.

Roessel, David. "H.D.'s Troy: Some Bearings." H.D. Newsletter 3.2 (1990): 38-42.

Schliemann, Heinrich. Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1884.

*Shilleto, Arthur Richard, trans. Pausanias' Description of Greece. 2 Vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1886.

Shorey, Paul. The Assault on Humanism. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Company, 1917.

Silverstein, Louis. "Planting the Seeds: Selections from the H.D. Chronology." H.D. Newsletter 2.2 (1988): 4-14.

Smith, Paul. "H.D.'s Identity." Women's Studies, 10 (1984): 321-337.

Smyers, Virginia. "H.D.'s Books in the Bryher Library." H.D. Newsletter 1.2 (1987): 18-25.

_____. "'Classical' Books in the Bryher Library." H.D. Newsletter 3.1 (1990): 15-25.

Stanford, Michael. The Nature of Historical Knowledge. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1986.

Steiner, Wendy. "Intertextuality in Painting." American Journal of Semiotics 3.4 (1985): 57-67.

Stephens, J. K. The Living Languages. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1891.

Stewart, Jessie. Jane Ellen Harrison: A Portrait From Letters. London: The Merlin Press, 1959.

Stock, Noel. Ezra Pound's Pennsylvania. Toledo, Ohio: Friends of the University of Toledo Libraries, 1976.

Swann, Thomas. The Classical World of H.D.. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962.

Troy, Mark L. Mummeries of Resurrection: The Cycle of Osiris in 'Finnegans Wake'. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1976.

Veeser, H. Aram, ed. The New Historicism. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Vickery, John B. The Literary Impact of the "Golden Bouth". Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Wagner-Martin, Linda W. "H.D.'s Fiction: Convolutions to Clarity." Women's Experimental Fiction. Ed. Ellen G. Friedman and Miriam Fuchs. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Wallace, Emily Mitchell. "A Musing in the Highlands and Valleys: The Poetry of Gratwick Farm." William Carlos Williams Review 8.1 (1982): 8-41.

_____. "Hilda Doolittle at Friends' Central School in 1905." H.D. Newsletter 1.1 (1987): 17-28.

Weatherhead, A. Kingsley. "Style in H.D.'s Novels." Contemporary Literature, 10.4 (1969): 537-56.

*Weigall, Arthur Edward Pearse. The Glory of the Pharaohs. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1923. Pencil annotations.

*_____. A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1913. Inscription: Hilda Aldington, Cairo--Jan. 31 '24 [1923?].

*_____. The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1922. Pencil annotation, underscores p. 40: "the propounders of the new thought."

*_____. The Life and Times of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1914.

*_____. The Paganism in Our Christianity. London: Hutchinson & Co., n.d.

*_____. Tutankhamen and Other Essays. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1923.

White, Hayden. The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

_____. "New Historicism: A Comment." The New Historicism. Ed. Aram Veeser. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich Von. Greek Historical Writing and Apollo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects, 1905-1920. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.

Williams, William Carlos. The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams. New York: New Directions, 1967.

Wortham, John David. The Genesis of British Egyptology, 1549-1906. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Zipes, Jack. Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization. New York: Wildman Press, 1983.